





" Psal. 45. 4 & 5.

Gird thee with thy sword vpon thy thigh, etc.

Good lucke haue thou with thine honour:
ride on, because of the word of trueth,

For Nathaniell Butts Bayes Nich. Bourne.

Ge. Mountin Sculpsit

THE SWEDISH INTELLIGENCER.

The first part.

W H E R E I N,
O V T O F T H E T R V E S T

And choyest Informations, are the
famous Actions of that warlike Prince

Historically led along: from his Maje-
sties first entring into the EMPIRE,
vntill his great Victory over the
Generall T I L L Y, at the
Battell of *Leipsich*.

The times and places of every Action
being so sufficiently observed and descri-
bed; that the Reader may finde both
Truth and Reason in it.



L O N D O N.

Printed for Nath: Butter and Nicolas Bourne,

1 6 3 2.

¶ The Contents and Methode
of the whole.

- I. *A Discourse vpon the Dyet of Ratisbone: which Dyet, bred the Discontents of the Protestants; and enforced them to the Conclusions of Leipfich.*
- II. *The Dyet of the Protestant Princes of Leipfich: and their Resolutions and Actions vpon it: Historically led along, vnto the day of their joyning with the King of Sweden.*
- III. *A briefe Chronicle of the King of Swedens Actions, from his first landing in Germany, vntill his great Victory over Tilly.*
- IIII. *The Proceedings of Monsieur Tilly, Generall of the Catholike League, by himselfe; from his first comming against the King, vntill his great defeate before Leipfich.*



THE PREFACE

TO THE READER.



Vdicious and favourable Reader. Out of our high respect vnto that *Cæsar* and *Alexander* of our times, that admirably victorious King of *Sweden*: wee haue here (and for thy pleasure too) adventured vpon an Essay of his Story; which if liked, may encourage vs to continue it. Not out of any confidence, that ours is a Chronicle worthy enough, for such heroick performances (a *Polibius*, or a *Tacitus* were little enough for that) but our intention chiefly is, to provoke some abler Pen, some better instructed Intelligencer, to doe it: and if such a one con-

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troll or mend vs, wee will not be angry. If you here demaund, out of what Instructions wee haue furnisht our *Intelligencer*; be pleased to know; that nothing is willingly feigned, or wilfully falsified. The errors that be in it, are errors of ignorance, all. Some part of it was received from the papers of an honourable personage; a Commaunder of prime credit and activitie, with that victorious King. Wee haue beene made to vnderstand much of these Actions, by discourse with another gallant Gentleman: and he also a great Commaunder in the Army. Some printed *High Dutch* bookes wee haue had. For some things we haue had private writing, and from good hands too. In other things we haue made vse of *Gallobelgicus*: especially where he deales vpon publick Record, and where we thought the poore man durst speake freely: Some times, sure, he writes but by Commission; and is every where sparing in reporting the Emperours losses. And yet in this, to take away all exception, we haue followed him too; notwithstanding wee by others found greater numbers and defeates, specified. Very good
vse

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we haue wee made of the *Weekly Currantoes* too: which if a man of judgement reades, he shall for the most part finde (especially of latter times) very true, and very punctuall. Whosoever will be cunning in the *Topography of Germany*, and would vnderstand these warres, let him not despise *Currantoes*. All this, lastly hath passed the allowance of a Gentleman (of the best judgement and intelligence for these matters) in the Kingdome.

Wee haue every where dealt candidely, not magnifying the King, nor derogating from his enemies: not left out, or put in, for favour or advantage. Our methode is this: to handle every Story by it selfe, and then to bring all together at the day of Battell. Carefull haue we beene, (yea no small paines haue we taken;) to note the times and to describe the places of the most famous actions. We haue examined the dates with diligēce; and still had five Maps before vs of the same place. The *Imperiall Dyet of Ratisbone*, w^{ch} was well hoped would haue mended all, leaving things farre more desperate on the *Protestants* partic; necessitated a Resolution in the Princes

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ces of that Confession ; rather to dye free,
then to liue slaues. Hence their *Dyet of Leip-
sich*. And because these Leaguers were at first
of an Vnion by themselves ; we haue briefly
therefore, and vpon the Bye, first handled
their warlike preparations ; vntill the day of
their joyning with the King. The same haue
we done with the Kings Story : gone a long
with it from his Majesties first landing. The
Kings having of many Armies in the fie d at
once, troubled vs not a little at the first, to
finde with which of all these Armyes the
King in person should be : but wee after a
while perceiued, that this most industrious
Chieftaine, was able to serue more Cures at
once then one : and that he was so vigilant
vpon every occasion, that there were few
great Actions which himselfe was not at
one end of. Many a brave Generall he hath ;
The Lord *Oxensterne*, a *Sweden* borne, and Lord
Chancellor of that Kingdome ; Generall all
this while of a particular Army in *Prussia*, to
waite vpon the *Pole*, and his motions: The
Lord *Falkenburg*, a *Germane* borne, and Lord
Chamberlayn of his Majesties household ;
vnfortunately slaine in *Magdenburg*. The Lord
Gustavus

TO THE READER.

Gustavus Horne, a *Finlander*: and still Generall of a particular Army by himselfe: with whom the Lord Marquesse *Hamilton* is associated. The Lord *Otho Todt*, for brevities sake call'd *Otty-todt*, or *Todt*, a *Swede*, Generall of his Majesties Horse; Sir *Iohn Bannier*, a *Germane*, and a braue Souldier, Generall of the Foote or Infantry: all these you finde frequent and honorable mention of; and yet hath the King himselfe beene at the most of the businesse. All particular actions it had beene impossible for vs to haue toucht vpon; therefore haue we endeavored to relate the famourest: whether Sieges, Battels, Marches, Encampings, or Removings: orderly leading all along vnto the great day of battell. It would haue perplexed our methode to haue mentioned every particular supply that the King hath had: those therefore wee desire the Readers to imagine. For example: he landed but 11. Regiments or thousands of Foote at first: yet within a moneth was his Army full 20000. strong: which daily increased also.

His numbers, indeede, were never great: he had but 5000. men, for the most part, and

A

never

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never aboue 7000. in all his late warres of *Prussia* against the *Pole* : and yet with them hath he fought severall Battels, beaten out, or wearied out, two *Imperiall* Armies; taken in the great and strong Citie of *Elbing*, with others : and obtained his purpose finally, vpon his enemy ; who was able at once to haue come downe with such a power of Horse vpon him, as had beene sufficient to haue carryed away himselfe and five such Armies. That which hath made his Majestic so victorious, (next to the assistance of Almighty God,) is his most exact observing of military Discipline ; wherein with an admirable temper, he is both strict and sweete: the Majestic of a King in him, commanding more willing obedience from his Army, then the awfull directions of a bare Generall alone, possibly could. Adde to his strict Discipline, his many poynts of new invented Discipline, peculiar vnto himselfe, too long here to describe. His justice, finally, and his mercy ; his exemplary and his indefatigable industry : his affabilitie, and his easinesse of accesse : the goodnesse of his cause, and the common Libertie which his victories bring
with

TO THE READER.

with them : haue conquered more then his sword. What now shall hinder this braue and princely Warriour, to arriue vnto that height of reputation which *Gonsalvo* did in the warres of *Naples* ; whom the Historians of that age, worthily stile, *the great Captaine* ? yea so great a Conquerour hath the King hitherto beene, that I dare challenge the skilfullest Historian, to set (for all particulars) such another by him. God blesse the King of *Swedens* Majestie : and thoroughly enable him, to be the glorious *Affertor* of the *Germane* Libertie. *Vale.*

If the Readers desire the continuance of our Relations :
our Intelligencer shall be much the better furnished
to give Content, if they please to send us in their owne
Intelligence.

For that it seemes impossible for vs English to a-
voyde that obseruation of Philip de Commines,
That in all great actions, wee are still hark-
ning after Prophecies; which the taking of some
things in this kinde, hath even now verified: wee
will therefore feede the humor of the times a little, with a
Prediction of a great Astronomer of our owne Nati-
on, vpon that great Coniunction of Saturne and
Iupiter,

THE PREFACE &c.

Jupiter, July 18. 1623. And the second a Prophecy of the famous Paulus Grebnerus his Booke, now in Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge.

The Astronomers judgement is this. That the effect of that Conjunction would be felt in the North and Northeast parts of Europe in particular: and in generall over all. That it would produce Famines, Plagues, Warres, &c. Places subiect to this, he nameth Italy, France, Bohemia, Silesia, and Germany. Of Provinces he nameth Prussia, Brandenburg, Stiria, Hassia, and Saxony. Yea he descends to Cities: naming Rome, Prague, Magdenburg, Coblents betwixt Mentz and Cullen, Vlmes, Brunswick, Ausburg, &c. He sayes it is likely to goe hard with the Romane Empire, Clergie, and Iesuites. He speakes of a King of a true Religion that should doe all this: and of much happinesse that should succede it. The whole Discourse will perchance shortly be imprinted.





PROPHETIA
IN LEONEM DOMVS
SAXONIAE.



*IV aspectavi & connivi ego
huic actui, & fidem Domui
Austriacae & Philippo syn-
ceram praestiti, ne invictissimum Regis
Philippi Belgium jamdudum ad extra-
neos deveniret, quod mihi Hispania ac-
ceptum referre habet. Iam vero diutiùs
sopitum quiescere, & quasi micare in
tenebris, mihi & filio meo Christiano in-
toleranda & irrecuperabilis jactura et
damnum videtur. Ideo arcum intendo
meum & jacula mitto, & sagittae meae
ac tela fortunae filij mei Christiani eti-*

*am directè collimant metam & inva-
dentes feriunt, ac disijciunt Burgundi-
cum illum, ac Austriacum Leonem,
vnde meum, ac filij mei regnum ac do-
minatio, amplè dilatatur. Quod ego
Hæresq; meus fæliciter consummavi-
mus.*

A Prophecy of Paulus Grebnerus,
vpon the Lyon of the House of Saxony.

* The Low-
Countries,
and the Wallon
Countries.

I Haue long lookt on and winked
at the businesse: and still haue I
kept my faith vntainted vnto the
house of *Austria* and to *Philip*: that so
the vnconquered* *Belgium* might not
long agoe haue falne into the hands
of Strangers: and thus much *Spaine*
owes me. But for me to lye still a-
sleepe, and to be hoodwinkt as it
were any longer: seemes an intolle-
rable and an irrecoverable losse and
detriment

detriment vnto my selfe and my son
Christianus. Now therefore bend I
my bow, and shoot abroad my darts:
whereupon the arrowes and darts of
mine owne fortune and *Christianus*
my Sonne, doe directly hitte the
marke, and smite those that invade
me: yea they cast downe that Bur-
gundian and Austrian Lyon: wher-
upon is the Kingdome and Domini-
on of my selfe and Sonne, very am-
ply enlarged. Thus much haue I
and mine heyre, most happily at-
chieved.



chieved.
and mine heyre, most happily at-
ply enlarged. Thus much have I
on of my selfe and sonne, very am-
upon is the Kingdome and Domini-
gund an and Austrian Lyon: wher-
me: yea they cast downe that But-
marke, and smite those that invade
my sonne, doe directly hitte the
mine owne fortune and Christiani-
whereupon the arrows and darts of
my bow, and shoot abroad my darts:
Christian. Now therefore bend I
determination unto my selfe and my son





OF THE MEETING

Given by the Emperor, vnto certaine Electors of the Empire, at the

Dyet of *Ratisbone*, 1630. Acurately

and truely described in a Letter,

by one that very well vnder-

stood how matters were

there carryed.

Faithfully translated out of the Latine Printed Copie; with some Marginall Notes added, for cleering of the Story.

The Letter.



Concerning the passages of the *Electoral Dyet*, truely my noble friend N: N: I had according to my promise, dispatcht a more early advice vnto you, but that vpon my returne to *Ratisbone*, there were more dayes spent in mutuall *visits* and *Entertainments* of friends, then indeed I was willing withall: But having now

gotten loose of this troublesome kinde of Courtesie, and that the dispatch of my businesse, together with the retyrednesse of the place where I now reside, had afforded me some leysure, I would no longer delay the discharge of that obligatiō, in which I stood engaged vnto you.

The Dyet of Ratisbone.

*The Catho-
like Princes of
the Empire,
who haue en-
tered into a
League for
the recovery
of the Church
lands, and for
the rooting
out of the
Protestant
Religion.
*The Duke of
Newburgh, a
yonger house
of the Pal-
grave, & who
put in for the
Electorate:
lately before,
turn'd Papist.
* Brother to
the Duke of
Bavaria,

Now after twelue yeares of most bloudy warres, and almost vtter desolation brought vpon a goodly Countrey; very probable surely it was, that a peace would be desired on all hands, and that for the full concluding thereof, this very *Dyet* had principally beene Convoked. As for the *Protestants*, they verily had even vnto this day vndergone the hardest of all hardship; being still overlaid with most heavy impositions, and with the billetttings of the Souldiers of the *Catholike* * *Leaguers*: Yea the *Catholikes* themselves, having had often tryall of the insolencies of the *Imperiall* Souldiers, and of the chargeablenesse of the warre; beganne now also mightily to distast the Covetousnesse of their owne partner, the Duke of *Bavaria*. Vpon this discontentment was the *Palatine* of * *Newburg* reported, to haue fallen off from the *League*: as for the Archbishop of *Salzburg*, he (as having no share among the other Princes in what should be conquered or recovered by the warre,) had for many yeares past withdrawne his Contribution. The Bishop Elector of *Triers* also very earnestly complained of the damages received by the *Spanish*: namely, of the pillaging of his Country, and the plundering of his Subjects houses: yea, and the Bishop * Elector of *Colein* also gaue off among the rest. In this one point notwithstanding, did the counsels and desires of the *Protestant* party differ from the *Catholikes*; for that *Tbey* out of a well meaning simplicitie desired an vtter forgetfulnesse of things passed, and a right downe peace: whereas *These*, tis true, seemed to be contented to lay downe Armes; but not except the Church goods withheld by the *Protestants*, might first be restored. Furthermore, that the Emperour was for his part heartily desirous both of the *Peace*, and this *Dyet*; we are in courtesie bound to beleue it. For when it was talkt on in every mans mouth at *Vienna*, how that both the *Peace* and *Agreement* were but given out for a meere shewe, the *Dyet* not really intended, and that the Emperour never meant to goe to *Ratisbone*; He gaue the Count of *Schwarzenburg* (Marshall of his house) a shrewd checke, for that he had not already given order to the household, gotten the carriages together,

gether, made provision of Wagons and * Shipping, and for that by his slacknesse and negligence, matter was ministred for the people diversly to descant vpon: and credible it was, that *Himselfe* being a Prince of milde disposition, vsed to liue in peace heretofore; did now begin to consider vpon the variable changes of fortune, and after so many yeares of prosperously atchieved warres, was at length desirous of ease and quietnesse. To be feared besides it was, lest that these continued warres, these immortall Impositions, these violences, iniuries, and Ravages; would be beleevd to be commanded, for that they were not forbidden: and that when people saw no other helpe for it, they would seeke a remedie even out of despayre it selfe.

*For both *Vienna* and *Ratisbone* are situated vpon the *Danubie*.

But as for those whose mindes were fully taken vp with the opinion of *Cesars* affecting to Rule all (people being very apt to imagine the worst) they mainly suspected *His* designe in summoning this *Dyet*, not to proceed out of any care of the publicke, or his desire of an equall peace; but that *He* was partly constrained vnto it by some pressing necessitie of his owne, and that he might lay such a ground-worke for the house of *Austria*, as he might build vpon hereafter. And that because every thing now helpt forward his businesse as he could desire. That whatsoever had any strength (to resist him) in the whole Empire, what through warres, tributes, and accusations, lay now a drawing on, vpon an easie death as it were. That it was the part of a wise man to follow his fortune, which had hitherto beene alwayes favourable vnto *Cesar*. That a man must make his best vse of what ever befalls him. That many things were to be brought about by putting to the venter, which were accounted difficult in the beginning. That by the ayde of the *Catholike Leaguers*, the *Protestant* Princes first; and those being made a hand with, even the *Catholikes* themselves, might very possibly be brought vnder the Dominion of the house of *Austria*. That the *Conde D'Ognate* of the house of *Guevaras*, the late *Spanish* Embassador with the *Emperour*, (a man not ignorant of the designes then on foote) was wont to cast out a word now and then a-

Peoples suspicions of *Cesars* intentions.

Their Arguments for their suspicion taken, from the opinion of the Courtiers.

mongst his friends, *How that the Gownes of the Germane Bishops were with the longest, and that their traynes must therefore be clipt.*

Furthermore, suppose the *Peace* did never so much please, (the Emperour) yet the *Dyet*, by which it was to be concluded, ought by all meanes to be avoyded. For by this course, should *Cesars* both words and actions come vnder censure; and the authoritie of *Majestie* be by that meanes much weakned: that this is the Condition of Ruling, that the Accompt be allowed vpon no other Termes, then as given vp to one man onely.

*They meane
Walſeyn, who
the Emperour
made Duke of
Meckleburg.

But whereas there was an Army already now on foote; the warre not onely begun, but farre advanc't; Contributions imposed, divers Princes deposed, and *new men set vp by the Court; every thing (to conclude) passed quite contrary to the Lawes; the *States* of the *Empire*; yea the *Electors* themselves eyther vnwitting of them, or vnwilling with them; how could all these things be defended; yea which way could they possibly be excused? Furthermore, how ever *Cesar* might be earnestly enclined to a peace, yet must his power be necessarily kept vp by force and strong hand. That both the *Nobilitie* & the *Commons* had beene too highly exasperated, with a shew of varietie of injuries; yea, and that they would take Courage to revenge themselves, so soone as ever they should see *Cesar* disarm.

Reasons to
perswade to
the Dyet.

These reasons, no doubt, had beene thoroughly canvassed at Court, and had a long time exercised both *Cesar* and his *Courtiers* with suspence; against all which, the necessitie of going forward with the *Dyet* prevayled notwithstanding: for, as for such spirits as having beene thoroughly chafed, were eager vpon the warres; they were to be pacified with the hopes of *Peace*, and the mending of the times: and against so many enemies, the *French*, the *Sweden*, and the *Hollanders*, comming all like a tempest at once vpon them; the *Princes* of the *Empire* were to be brought about: and to be perswaded, That these being not the private enemies of the house of *Austria* alone, but the publique adversaries of the *Empire*; were

were to be beaten off at the common charges, and with their vnited forces. Nor was *Cesar* ignorant, that very many there were, so farre forth Maisters of themselves as fayrely to obey, though not slavishly to *serue*, that argued among themselves vpon the miseries of servitude; raked vp the injuries receiued; and that aggravated all, by construing things to the worst sence: and, as for the defeating of the *Imperialists** in *Prussia*; the cutting them off in *Holland*; their incountrings with so much hardship in *Italy*; the taking in of *St. Hertoghenbusck*, and of *Wesel*; the falling of the King of *Sweden* into the* *Em- pire*; many, he well knew, did openly talke of all these things, as not much amisse. But another reason for this *Dyet* there was, (nor was there any other cause that so neerely concerned *Cesars* going to it) to settle (namely) the Empire in his owne family, to shew his Sonne vnto the *Princes*, and to win the *Electors* vnto him. Thus the *Catholikes*, the *Protestants*, and the *Emperour*, for diuerse respects, and with equall desires, all sought the *Peace*. The *Protestants* desired such a one, as might promise a forgetfulnesse of matters passed, and securitie for all sides: the *Catholikes*, they were earnest to haue the Lands first of all restored vnto the Churches, and the Churches vnto the old Religion: as for *Cesar*, that He cald a *Peace*, to haue his Rebels curbed, and all submitted to his disposing: which *Peace* notwithstanding did no way perswade the disbanding the Armies, nor the easing of the Impositions. And this was the state of the Empire, thus stood mens mindes disposed, when as *Cesar* and the *Electors* met at the *Dyet* of *Ratisbone*.

* By the King of *Sweden*: against whom, *Holsteyn* first, and *Arnheim* next, had bin sent.

* That is, into *Prussia*.

Now were the heads of the Consultation proposed: in the beginning whereof, *Cesar* in a long Oration pleaded for himselfe, That He might not be thought to be eyther the Causer of so cruell a warre, or the hinderer of the *Peace*: imputing all the mischiefes that fell out vpon the warre, vnto the *Palsgrave*, and his associates, *Mansfeild*, *Brunswicke*, and the King of *Denmarke*: That himselfe being the forwardest, there had beene diuers Conferences concerning an Agreement; but through the stubbornnesse of the aduerse partie, all the Trea-

The summe of the Emperours Oration, in six Articles.

But the King
of Sweden sayd
otherwise in
his Defence,
which see af-
erwards.

ties had come to nothing; now at length therefore high time it was, seriously to bethinke themselves of a good *Peace*; or if that could not at the best hand be obtained, then to devise vpon the way of a joynt league, both betweene themselves and with the *Emperor*, against the disturbers of this so necessary a *Peace*; be they natives of the Empire, or be they foreigners; and in as much as the *Palsgrau* *Fredericke*, (the Causer both of these warres and miseries) after those most equall Conditions propounded to him by the *Electors* in their *Dyet* at *Mulhausen*, is not to this day come in; nor hath ever since desisted from such Courses, as haue beene troublesome both vnto his Countrey and common peace; but hath stirr'd vp others heretofore, and the *Hollanders* of latter times, vnto the destruction of his owne Countrey: The *Emperors* request therefore was, that the *Electors* would be pleased to passe an *Act* of *Counsell*, whereby the *Palsgrau* should continue a banished man without all hopes of returning, and that they would never vouchsafe to entertaine eyther peace or amitie with him. He furthermore declared, how that the *Hollanders* having long since shaken off all due reverence vnto the *Empire*, had with a sacrilegious boldnesse of late, both besieged and taken in, certaine of his good Cities and Dominions: now therefore it must be lookt vnto, that the Empire suffer no damage: and the remedies must now be consulted vpon, how the boldnesse of these robbers might best be restrained; and how that which vnjustly they had taken away, might be recovered. The fourth poynt to be considered vpon, was the warres of *Italy*, and the *French King*: who now invaded the rights of the Empire, and made himselfe an *Vm*-pire of such matters, as belong'd not vnto his Cognizance; which is not to be endured, sayth the Emperour. As for the King of *Sweden*, there be no causes of enmitie betwixt vs: but if he will not condescend vnto the *Imperiall Ambassador* the *Burgrau* of *Dhona*, and the King of *Denmarke* the Mediator of the *Peace*; then verily he is to be threatned with the power of the *Romane Empire*; and if he gaue not over, then was his bold attempt to be chastised by force of Armes.

Last of all, were the Princes advised to consult vpon the meanes, of maintaining a standing Army, and of the restoring of Martiall Discipline; and of the manner of laying, and of le-
vying the Impositions.

So soone as ever these *Propositions* were noyfed abroad, they were variously descanted vpon by diuerse: most men admiring, that whereas the first Proposition tooke care how to establish a good Peace; the five other Articles breathed out nothing but menaces of warres and Armies. That the Soveraigntie of the house of *Austria*, and the base enduring of servitude by the other side, was the thing (forsooth) that must be called *Peace*. That all was now excused, by the rebellion of the *Bohemians*, the oversight of the *Palsgrawe*, and the stubborne spirits of *Mansfeild*, and the rest. That those Armes which were at first taken vp against enemies, were now turned against the Common-wealth: For, after the differences were compounded with the King of *Denmarke*, there remained no enemy in the whole Empire; and yet the *Army* and the *Impositions*, were neverthelesse commanded to be kept on foote. But now plainly was this driven at, that the private quarrels of the house of *Austria*, might be maintained by the power of the *Romane* Empire: which must thereby make another mans quarrell, her owne interest. But as for * *Fredericke*, the *Hollanders*, the * *Duke de Nivers*, and for his sake the *French* King, and the King of *Sweden*; to conclude, they all professe themselves injured by the *Austrians*, and to keepe firme amitie with the Empire. And suppose that *Frederick* had invaded the Crowne of *Bohemia* vnjustly, and had merited punishment in that regard; yet had his *Electors* all dignitie beene taken from him, and conferred vpon the Duke of *Bavaria*; before ever the consent of the *Princes* of the Empire had beene asked; the *Electors* gaine saying it: yea, the King of *Spaine* himselfe, being vtterly against it. People, moreover, were bold to Prophecy, That never should Peace returne into the Empire, vnlesse the Prince *Palatine* were first restored into all, or into a good part of his lost dignitie and Dominions. For not he in his owne person alone,

The Peoples construction of the Emperours Oration.

* The King of Bohemia.

* Now Duke

of Mantua, whose Ancestors being of a yonger house of Mantua, settled themselves in France, to whom for want of Issue, Mantua is now false: the Investiture whereof being denied him by the Emperour, and the King of Spaine set on; the French King appeared with an Army in fa-
vor of him.

and his so many Children, and their posteritie, (which soe-
 ver of them were so minded,) would sometime or other be-
 come the subject of more troubles; but the *Austrians* and
Spaniard, with the *Hollander*; and the *Protestants* (who by
 putting the Prince *Palatine* out of the *Colledge* of *Electors*,
 should alwayes hereafter be too weake in number of voyces)
 with the *Catholikes*; would ever jarre with a perpetuated
 heart-burning. But were that Prince re-estated in his anci-
 ent place; then should that too great power of the Duke of
Bavaria, the heart-burning against the house of *Austria*, and
 the feares which the *Protestants* now stood in, be all taken
 away.

And now that the Duke of *Bavaria* might neither be a-
 fraid, nor asham'd, to lay aside the *Electors*hip, obtained by
 his valour and * deserts; they interposed this Counsell: to
 leaue (namely) a part of the *Palatinate*, vnto him and his
 heires for ever; and, (which is sayd not to be without ex-
 ample) to haue the *Electors*hip goe by turnes between them,
 from one vnto another; cyther by terme of yeares, or liues.
 Moreover, as for the *Hollanders*, notwithstanding they had
 renounced their allegiance to the King of *Spaine*; yet they
 fayrely conserued the Majestie of the *Empire*; yea and that
 with their neighbouring Princes, (though *Catholikes*) they
 did religiously maintaine the Articles and Quarter of *Neu-*
trality. True it is, that by the right of Warre they had made
 theselues Masters of certaine places, which either the *Spani-*
ard before held; or they feared he would take in: whereas the
Emperour on the contrary, not by them provoked by any in-
 jury, had without any Decree of the *Empire* to that purpose,
 all out of a private desire of his owne for the assisting of the
 King his Cosin; sent the Count de *Monte-Cuculi*, even into
 the very heart of * *Holland* it selfe, with an Army. This was
 the cause of the revenge which they tooke afterward: nor
 did they more then enough in so doing, or committed any
 thing contrary to the Law of Armes. That for the Warres
 * of *Italy*, the Rights of the *Empire*, tis true, were pretended;
 but yet were they with the bloud, and at the charges of the

* Deserts to
 the Emperor,
 vnderstand;
 and not to
 his Cosin the
 Prince Pa-
 latine.

* While the
 Prince of O-
 rangelay be-
 fore St. Her-
 togbenbesch.

* About the
 Dukedome
 of Mantua;
 which the
 Spaniard per-
 chance could
 haue bin wil-
 ling to haue
 seised for
 himselfe in
 the Emperors
 name; who
 pretended the
 Dukedome to
 be a Fee or
 Forfeiture of
 the Empire.

Germane

Germane Nation, maintained in behalfe of the King of *Spaine*. For as for the Duke *de Nivers*, he was ever ready to haue swoine fealtie, and done his *homage* to the Emperour : but indeed it no way stood with the *Spaniards* designes, to haue a Prince so neere a neighbour vnto his Dutchy of *Millaine*, that were infected with a *French* spirit. Against the King of *Sweden* they affirmed, how that the Emperour in ayde of his Cosin the King of *Poland* had sent a strong Army: and therefore ought not to take it ill, if by the same Law of Armes, that King should now assist his owne Cosins the Dukes of *Mecklenburg* condemned, * before they were heard : revenging withall, the private injuries offered vnto himselfe. These and the like Discourses passed vp and downe.

* But the *Electors* in a graue and a solemne Answer, insisted vpo the miseries of the present times, the outrages committed in the Warres, and the excessiuenesse of the Impositions ; laying all the fault vpon the author of all these, the new Duke of *Mecklenburg*, Generall of the Emperors great Armie ; through his sides, thus girding even at the Emperour himselfe ; seeing, that vnto him *He* had given so large a Commission (and that without the consent of the Princes of the Empire) as never before him any had : That there had an infinite Army beene gathered ; to no vse, vnlesse to the destruction of their Country : that warre had beene commenced against such, as it had never beene denounced : That the Impositions, which by the Law of the Empire it had beene fit to haue assessed by the joynt consent of the Princes ; had at the pleasure of the sayd Duke beene imposed, and most rigorously exacted. They at the same time also affirmed, how that the *Electors* of *Brandenburg* alone in these few yeares past, (besides those inestimable damages, which vsually accompany the Warres, and the unruly Souldiers,) had beene faine to contribute (and that vnder the name of a Tribute) to the value of twentie Millions of * *Florens*.

At which time these severall complaints were also given vp : The Duke of *Pomerland* complained himselfe for ten Millions drawne out of his Principallitie of *Stetin* alone ; and

* By the Emperour, to leese their Estates : Whereupon, *Walsfeyn* with his Army fell vpon the Dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, whom the Emperour having Created Duke of *Freidlande* before, now made him Duke of *Mecklenburg*.

* The summe of the Princes Answer vnto the Emperors Propositions,

* A *Florens*, is about two shillings English.

that in one onely yeare, besides an vnnecessary rabble of *Hang-byes, Drablers*, and the Skullery of the Armie; there had beene one and thirtiethousand foote, and seaven thousand fiue hundred and fortie horse, billeted vpon *Pomerland*. *William, Landtgrave of Hessen*, for his tribute of some certaine yeares, seaven Millions; the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, monethly contributed an hundred and twentie thousand *Florens*. The Citie and State of *Norimberg*, twentie thousand a moneth: others likewise complained, of some more, some lesse, that had beene raked from them. They highly accused thereupon the prodigall luxury of the sayd Duke, his *Colonnells & Captaines*, for their flanting of it in such rich Cloaths and household-stuffe, of gold and silver; and the incredible high keeping and trappings of their horses.

* *Walsheym.*

At the same time there was a little Booke shewed vp and downe, wherein the ordinary provisions of* his house, the offices of his Court, and the names of those that had principall charge about him, were contained; and all these with larger allowance (as it was sayd) then those of the Emperours owne pallace. Then was his so much envied house, built at *Prage* out of the spoyles of the Empire, and vpon the ruines of an hundred houses, purposely pluckt downe for him, every where spoken of.

* *Walsheym.*

Nor could any of these things be denied. But those times (as the Emperour excused it) and the power the enemy was then growne vnto, and, the victory, depending vpon speedy pursuite alone (nothing being safer in Civill Warres, then expedition) could not away with that scrupulous order of the ancient Customes. Many a Dispute in writing hereupon passed too and againe, on both sides: in all which, the Emperour pressed no new Proposition or request: but the *Electors* mainly vrged the casheering of the new* Duke and his Army; to haue a Peace made with the *French King*, and the Princes of *Italy*; yea with the King of *Sweden* also; whose Fleete was not as yet arrived vpon the Coasts of *Pomerland*. The* Ambassador of *Fredericke the Palatine*, they were very earnest to haue admitted to *Audience*, vnto whom now
comming

* *Mr. Russler*
by name.

comming to the *Dyet* in company of the King of great *Britaines** Ambassador, they gaue assurance for his safe comming and returning. With the *Hollanders* last of all, they all, (but especially the Bishop *Elect*or of *Colein*, who lyes nearest to the danger) desired peace vpon any termes: a buisnesse of which moment, they all affirmed worthy to be referred vnto a *Dyet* of the whole Empire. Many things therefore the *Electors* by voyces at length carried, which fell heavy vpon the Emperour and his Courtiers.

* Sir Robert Anstruther.

Vnto *Walensteyn* therefore first of all, were there sent *Iohn Baptista Verdenberg*, and *Gerard Questenberg*; Barons both of them, and both of them enriched by him with many a mightie gift; and both of them alwayes beleevd to be at Court the great advancers of his Projects. But even therefore were they made choyce of before any others, as the fittest men to perswade with him. The taske which they vnderooke, seemed to be the difficultest of all the rest; it being beleevd that *Walenstein* being a man of a most haughtie spirit, accustomed to a military command, one that had beene Courted by the greatest Princes, and vpheld by infinite riches; would never dully endure such an affront, nor by his good will ever stoope againe vnto a private life. Cause to feare moreover he had, lest they who never durst doe it when he was a *Generall*, would yet require their own of him when he should become a private man. And the *Dutchy of Mecklenburg** (they beleevd) likely hereby to be exposed to most certaine danger. All mens mindes now full of expectation what would be the event of that message; all men now afraid of new hurly-burlies; behold now (what every*body much admired at) *Walenstein* immediately obeyes the commandement of the Emperour. Some indeede surmised, that he being a fast servant to the Emperour, though a gallantly magnificent spirited person; yet being now become inexorable by the many faults committed by his Souldiers, he would never be wrought to it, eyther by gifts or threatnings; or by any other devises, such as vulgar spirits vse to be troubled withall, did therefore in his owne judgement account it his

* They feared lest he would vse it, as the Devill did the Possessed; all to teare it, when he knew he was to leave it.
* Peoples guesses at the reason, of *Walensteins* so easie quitting of his Armie.

better course, to giue way vnto envie ; being in possibilitie one day to see both times and men favourably disposed towards him, who turning with the times, might be changed to repentance. Others suspected him to be weighed downe with great promises, and to haue that way fallen off from the *Emperour*. There were some that said, that even by the skill of some in the Starres (wherein besides others he made vse of *Kepler*, a great Master) and by the *Chaldeans* art, was fore-signified, his times and fates to be come, and that they gaue him this Counsell. Others, to conclude, beleewed him to be forced vnto it by necessitie ; and that by the cunning even of *Cesar* himselfe, he was fetcht over, and quit that way of his great forces : and that his vaine heart, out of a hope and desire of warres with *France*, and the glory of a new prey ; was thus suddenly taken off from his mightie Army : and that he now remaind at *Memmingen* a prisoner as it were. But what ever the matter was, a very great thing it is, and neere vnto a prodigie ; first, that *Cesar* condescended vnto the *Electors* ; and secondly, that *Walenstein* so soone yeelded vnto the *Emperour*.

* The whole Empire is di-
vided into ten
Circles or
Provinces:
each of which
(besides their
severall Prin-
ces,) hath a
President and
four Coun-
sellors to assist
him : who call
the *Dyets* or
Land-dayes to
consult for the
publike. All
the Princes of
the same Cir-
cle, be of one
League

* The *Walte-
line*.

Another thing there is which the *Electors* now obtained ; namely, that those innumerable numbers should be lessened, and the greatest part of the Souldiers disbanded. Then, *Cesar* promised also, that there should be no warres made vpon any, without the consent of the Princes. And that no Impositions should hereafter be layd, at the pleasure of the *Generall* of the Army, but in the *Land-dayes* of the severall * *Circles*, as they call them. Beyond all this, the desires both of *Cesar*, the *Electors*, and of the *French* Ambassador conspired in one consort, to make vp a *Peace* so vnwelcome and hated of the *Spaniard* : seeing that by it sure order was taken, first, for re-estating of the Duke de *Nivers* in the possession of *Mantua* and *Montferat* : secondly, that the (*Germane*) Troopes should be recalled out of *Italy* : and lastly, that the passages of the mountaines in the *Grisons* * Countrey, should be layd open as before. None of which Lawes verily are of that nature, that for the obtaining of them, there was any
neede

neede to disturbe the quiet of so many Nations, to expend such vast treasures, and to shed the bloud of so many thousands.

The Treatie with the *English* Ambassador, and the Prince *Palatines Procrator*, although it came to no head ; yet thereby way was obtained for Prince *Frederike* to finde Grace : and that those parts of his Dominions which are in the *Spaniards* hands, are now to be quitted vnto him : and he hath the libertie yet left him, to fulfill the Conditions offered him at *Mulhausen*. And thus, (which God turne to a good end,) doe we owe vnto *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, *Goths*, and *Vandalls*, that we are not vtterly despoyled of our *Armes*, nor too streightly curbed by the *Electors* ; nor, finally, made the tenants of the *Clergie*.

For when as in the heate of these contentions yet continuing, newes was brought, both that the Baron of *Dhona* was come away from *Dantzick* without any hope of a Peace : and that the King of *Sweden* had already landed an Armie in *Pomerlandt* ; made himselfe Master of *Stetin*, and at the same time put the *Imperialists* to flight ; *Cesar*, supposing that to be an occasion to be made vse of ; affirmed, that his despising of the Majesty of the *Germane* Empire ought to be revenged vpon him ; and that, that error was to be rectified by vertue, which they had run into * by delaying. These Propositions of *Casars* were not a little helped forward by a private feare of the *Catholikes* : which was, least that not *Gustavus* alone, (a Prince but of small power) did thus stirre vp the masse weight of so great a warre ; but that there were more of the *Protestants*, who out of a hatred to the present estate of things, and a desire of innovation ; and those, perchance, for-reigne Princes too, should be deeply in the plot with him. These (Catholike Princes) therefore, thus drawne vnto it, not so much out of their loue vnto the *Emperour*, as out of their owne feares, agreed to the warres, and aydes against him.

* In the time spent in the Treatie of Peace ; which had better bin employed in sending an Army, to withstand his so neare approaching.

In the meane time (which thing was cunningly and closely conveighed, and whereof there had beene no mention made,

* The Empe-
rours Coun-
seller.

* The Empe-
rours Sonne,
King of Hun-
garia; whom
the Emperour
would fayne
now haue pro-
cured to haue
beene chosen
King of the
Romans: which
is as much as
Heyre appa-
rant to the
Empire.

Non nisi causa
cognita.

made, among any of the heads of the Consultation) was the designe for the Election and Crowning of the King of the *Romanes* mainly intended; and that by most cunning sollicitations, and the earnestest of their devises. *Egenberg*, * a man continually troubled with the Gowt, for which he seldome vsed to come out of his bed; gaue particular *Visites* vnto the foure *Electors* present, and vnto the Ambassadors of the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Marquesse of *Brandenburgh*, at their severall lodgings: finely insinuating vnto them, how that the *Emperour* now well in yeares, was even weary of paines taking, and was a man subject to many diseases besides: that his affection was very good towards the Common-wealth, which he was now able to doe no greater service for, then to settle in it a good Successor. He put them in minde now and then, of the miseries of an *Inter-regnum*: intimated vnto them, the high deservings of the house of *Austria*; wonderfully setting out the towardly hopefulnesse of King * *Ferdinand*.

To the same purpose, (for that the Ambassadors of the two absent *Electors* excused themselves, as having no instructions or Commission to treat vpon that poynt) were there Letters dispatched vnto the *Electors* themselves; yea, the *Electors* good will was so little doubted of, that a certaine *Physician* of the *Emperours* Court, (and he none of the obscurest, as having a speciall veyne in *Poetry*) in a set *Poeme* which was printed at *Norimberg*, congratulated the *Father*, for the Crowne set vpon his sonne *Ferdinand* the third his head, none almost contradicting it. Vnto which intimation (of *Egenbergs*) they all returned answer, magnificent enough for words, but emptie for realitie: highly thanking the *Emperour* for his Care of the Common-wealth; but that the Lawes of the *Empire* forbad them, to condescend at this time vnto his desires: seeing that by that Law, the *Electors* without particular knowledge of the Cause, could not appoint a *Dyet* for the Creating of the King of the *Romanes*: and that the full knowledge of the Cause contained many particulars, which require both time and serious consultation. Then, that *Franck-*
ford

ford was by the same Law, the place appointed for the *Election*. That it were wisely done to take away all matter of rumors; that people might have no cause to say, how all things in that *Dyet*, were in the middle now of *Cæsars* Armies frightening them on every side, not passed by the free voyces of the *Electors*, but by force and feare rather. Thus by a wise dilatory answer, were those requests turn'd off, which in right-downe termes, the *Electors* would not willingly have denied. But whither it were their Care of the publick good, and to keepe their owne liberties; or that the ambitious counsell of the Duke of *Bavaria* stept in betweene, I know not: but very certaine it is, that great offence was taken at it, that King *Ferdinand* in his Caroach, in all meetings, and wherefoever; still ambitiously affected the vpper hand; which was denied to belong vnto him, whilest his *Father* was living. And the report was, that the Bishop *Elect*or of *Mentz*, gaue *Stralendorff* Vice-chancellor of the *Empire*, a privie *Item* to that purpose.

The Law of Sovereigntie eagerly raged in the meane time; and diverse of the Gentry of *Franckenlandt*, *Schwabenland*, and the *Palatinate*, were there accused to have borne Armes, vnder *Mansfeld*, * *Durlack*, and *Brunswick*, against the *Emperour*. Some affirmed them to be guiltie: themselves sayd they onely found themselves guiltie, by suffering their punishment. The execution of this businesse, did the *Emperour* now commit vnto *Wolfgang Rudolph Ossa*: (a man accounted rather great, then good; taken to'ther day out of the service of the Counts of *Hanau*, into the number of the Court *Flyes* or *Instruments*;) Commanding the goods of the condemned persons to be confiscated into his owne Exchequer: the *Electors* and other *Princes*, earnestly protesting against the proceedings; claiming, those *Gentlemen* to be within their Dominions: and that these *Fees* which *Cæsar* now Confiscated into his owne Coffers, the *Gentlemen* did hold of them, and of their Ancestors; and that all such *Forfeitures* and *Attenders* were by the favour of former *Emperours*, and long Custome, due vnto them. *Cæsar* continued resolute notwithstanding;

* The Mar-
quesse of Ba-
den; Lieute-
nant of the
Army of the
Princes of the
Union, for the
keeping of the
Palatinate, and
the Protestant
Countrys.
After the dis-
solving of the
Union, in the
yeare 1621.
he the next
yeare fought
with his owne
forces about
Sinsin, betwixt
the *Palatinate*
and *Wirtem-
berg*; where the
good old man
was defeated
by *Tilly* and
Don Cordova.

standing; and dispatcht away *Ossa* with a most ample Commission: then which action of *Cæsars*, none was generally taken in worse part. Because even bad Princes, though sometimes they punished such as were actually prov'd traytors, yet they alwayes too narrowly searcht not into every man, that was to himselfe guiltie: that they husht vp many a fowle thing, by a wise dissimulation, rather then by bringing it to open punishments. That he that takes away one enemy, makes way for many. That he especially who hath any thoughts of Peace-making in him, is not to take notice of every thing: for feare lest the whirlewindes after much adoe being now scarce layd, should bluster out againe into a vehementer tempest. That bodies weakned by a sicknesse, are not presently againe to be tampered withall by Physicke; but to be recovered with quiet. That scarcely can the actions of the best Princes be defended, much lesse theirs, which are alwayes suspected of avarice: That vpon these grounds, *Cosimo de Medicis*, (a most wise * Prince,) alwayes left the Estates of such as were attaynted, vnto their Children and next kindred. Finally, the businesse which of its owne nature was grievous enough, would be made much heavier by the sharking of the Officers.

*Duke of Florence in Italy.

But these *Court-Harpies* forsooth, now after that vnder the pretence of treasons against the Emperour, and exercise of forbidden Religions; they had with their vncleanly talons, foully gryped *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, and both the *Austria's*, and wrung the *Nobilitie* and *Gentry* (whose case was rather to be pittied) out of their inheritances: their insatiable mawes being not yet full cram'd, they now whetted their Claws and infamous beakes againe, to devour the wealth of the *Empire*. That their yawning gullets, were yet set wider vpon the tenterhookes, by the easinesse of the Emperour; in whose service (he being a Prince too much governed by his Officers) men might offend with lesse feare, and greater reward. One thing there was that added more matter to these speeches; a word (namely) that scaping from *Werdenberg*, was presently taken vp by the people: how that the

the goods of the *Gentry* of *Franckenlandt*, were already granted away vnto the *Lords* of the *Emperours* privy Councell; both for the payment of their Pensions now many yeares behinde, and also for the reward of their paines and faithfulnessse, yet for all this, the names of the * Counts of *Meggau* and *Trautmanstorff*, and of the Abbot of *Cremsmunster* (which three personages, by what title I know not, had out of the Exchequer received some of the escheated goods) they much scorned and despised, as new and strange preferments: for a disposition there is bred in the bone of vs mortalls; with ill eyes to looke asquint at other mens newly acquired happinessse; and with an equall repining to measure other mens good, and our owne injuries. But *Cesar*, shall I say, or these that beare all the sway at Court, remained resolute and peremptory in the matter: all loath to loose so plentifull a Fishing.

* I beleue that these 3. having thus gotten estates, had also new titles given them by the Emperour; for the first of which they were hated, and for the last, scorned by the *Germane* Nation, that stand much vpon their ancient Nobilitie. This Abbot of *Cremsmunster*, was preferred to the Bishopricke of *Vienna* in *August* following.

You haue long expected, my noble Friend, to heare what hath beene moved, argued, and decreed in this *Dyet*, concerning the restitution of the Church goods. That shall I briefly tell you of. It stood not with the *Emperours* honor, againe to submit a case already decided by himselfe, and wherein he had by his *Proclamation* declared his pleasure, vnto the Censure of others. Nor any whit of favour was there all this while shewed vnto the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, the Marquesse of *Brandenburg*, the Counts of *Hohenloe* and *Waldeck*, the Cities of *Strasburg*, and *Norimberg*: who by sentences every day passed against them, were commanded to quit the goods of the Church. And thus may it hereby sufficiently appeare, how that that distinction of time agreed vpon, and the *Transaction* of *Passaw*, hath not hitherto beene observed, no not by *Cesar* himselfe; but that of the following time hath beene observed: seeing, that the Credit of all proofes, though neuer so cleare, hath beene overthrowne by cavills and by subtleties. Certaine it is, that the Count of *Furstemberg*, President * of the *Iudgement*, returned no other answer vnto *Cesar* *Vrbán à Feiltsch*, Chancellor to the Marquesse of *Brandenburg*,

* *Iudicij* *Præsides*.

denburg, complaining of the vnjust sentence decreed against the Counts of *Hohenlo*, than this vulgar *Verse*.

Fronte capillata est, posthac occasio calva.

*The Masters of *George Muller*, and of the Author.

* Of *Passau* as before:

where (*Anno 1553.*) there had beene a former Dyet held; wherein the Protestant Princes had received some confirmation or consent from the Emperour, for their Appropriated church goods. Against which *Transaction* the Emperour had since taken them away, by sentences and Commissions against them.

*That the orders of *Passau* might be kept, and the Protestants not be too suddenly cast out of the Church Lands.

That, *Occasion* is to be taken by the foretop, because shee is bald behind. Which same man in a familiar manner thus answered vnto *George Muller* (whom you well know) and to my selfe: that seeing our Counts * had confessed themselves, for the space of fourescore yeares and vpwards, to haue kept the possession of the Church Goods; it followed necessarily that they must with a good will leaue them for as long time vnto the Catholics: and that after that terme, they might possibly retorne vnto the Protestants againe. These mocks were added, vnto Iustice denied vs.

And yet about the latter end of the Dyet, the Ambassadors of *Franckenlandt*, *Schwaben*, of the Saxon Princes also, and the Duke of *Brunswick*, and of certaine Cities besides; delivered in writing the *Forme* and the *Decrees* of that * *Transaction*, vnto the Chancellor of the Bishop Elector of *Mentz*: and he on the other side, in another writing declared vnto them, the Conditions vnto which the Catholicke Princes seemed to haue consented. And to this passe the matter at last came, That for the further Compounding of all Differences, the time was appointed to be in *February*, and the place *Franckford*.

The Catholicke partie treated * the businesse in good earnest: but whether the reason of it were, for that intelligence being even now given them by their Spies of certaine secret levies of Souldiers, at that instant made by the Elector of *Saxony* and some others in *Franckenlandt*; and that they standing in feare thereupon of further troubles, were desirous to maintaine the hope of a good agreement in the Protestants; I cannot easily determine: time will discover all. Of all which; as also how things now stand betwixt the Princes of the Catholicke League: and of the Orders taken (for shewe rather, than

than for continuance) about the manner of paying the Souldiery ; wee shall at my comming into - - - land, more commodiously speake together. Farewell my noble Friend, N: N: and loue me still.

Your Observant,

N. N.





THE PROTESTANTS DYET OF LEIPSICH,

February 8. 1631.

And what followed vpon it, vntill their
joyning with the King of Sweden.



He Imperiall Dyet thus ending November $\frac{1}{3}$ left matters in farre worse estate than it found them: for that men perceived now their very hopes to be taken away, as their liberties and goods had beene before. And the *Protestant* Princes finding themselves startled by foure things especially, perceived it high time now for them to take the Alarme. The first of the foure was this: that whereas the Duke of *Saxony* had in the time of the Dyet written advice vnto the Emperour, of the King of *Swedens* approaching; the Emperour tells him againe, how he hoped that himselfe (*Saxony*) and *Brandenburg* would well ayde him, with money, munition, and other necessaries. By which answer, *Saxony* perceived a new bill of Charges comming vpon the *Protestants* next those parts, where the King of *Sweden* was landed. The second was this: the round course taken by the Emperour for the recovering of the Church Lands: which neither the *Elect*or of *Saxony* was able to stay by his Letters vnto the Emperour; nor the *Elect*or of *Brandenburg* and other Princes, with their presence at the Dyet: but that even before their owne faces, daily Commissions were sent out against them. A third was this: that rigide course (taken by
advise

advise of the *Iesuites*) for Reformation of the *Protestant Churches* and *Schooles*, and the forbidding of the libertie of the *Augustane Confession*. The fourth was, that *Decree* of the Emperours (published foure dayes before the breaking vp of the *Dyet*, though hammered vpon long before:) for the continuance of the Warres against the King of *Sweden*: whereas the way had beene propounded and advised vpon before, how to compound the matter, rather then how to continue the troubles. And that which aggravated the *Decree* for the warres being; not onely that the Princes were to be at the charges of it, but that the levies were to be layd and collected, not by the consent of those who should pay them, but at the pleasure of the Imperiall *Commissaries*: for the moderating of whose power, and repressing the numbers and insolencies of the Souldiers, notwithstanding some flight promises were now made; yet how far they would be kept, was in their owne pleasures. The *Protestants* by these arguments being not onely made suspitious, but sensible too; that there were not too many good intentions in the Emperour towards them, their Estates or Religions: begin to enter into a Consultation for their owne safetie. The plot for it was layd thus. That whereas there had beene a Conference betwixt *them* and the *Catholikes* at the former *Dyet*, concerning the Church Lands; the further treatie thereupon, was referred vnto a *Dyet* (procured by the *Catholikes*) to be held at *Franckford* vpon *Mayn*, in *August* following; the Duke of *Saxony* should write his Letters vnto the *Emperor*, (which was seconded by the mediation of the *Electors* of *Mentz* and *Bavaria*,) entreating libertie for the *Protestants* to hold a *Dyet* by themselves, in some convenient place; that so by their vnited Counsells they might be provided, for an answer at the future *Dyet* of *Franckford*.

The Empe-
rour graunts
the *Dyet*.

The *Imperiall* assent being thus obteyned; the *Protestant* Princes by their Letters and Ambassadours agree vpon the *Dyet*: the place to be *Leipsich*, and the time the 8.th of *February*. That the severall Princes and States therefore might know before-hand, what Instructions to giue vnto the Am-

basla-

Saxonyes Let-
ters.

ambassadors they were to send; the Duke of Saxony in his *Invitory* Letters to each of them, layes open the purpose of the intended *Dyet*; fayrely communicating the mayne propositions, both vnto them, and to the Emperour. The contents whereof were; First, To consult how the Church might with a good Conscience be maintained in her ancient liberties and happie estate. Secondly, How to keepe their due obedience to the Emperour, and yet preserve the ancient Constitutions and Peace of the Empire. Thirdly; How to maintaine correspondency with the *Catholike* Princes. And fourthly, What to answer for themselves both in generall and particular, as well concerning the maintenance of the reformed Religion, as to the Emperours *Edict* concerning the Church-Lands, when they should come to meete at the *Dyet* of *Franckford*.

The Prote-
stant partie
in the Em-
pire.

The Princes thus invited, and the time now come; vpon the fourth of *February* 1631. the *Elect*or of Saxony enters *Lypsich* in great state: and the *Elect*or of *Brandenburg* a little after him. Thither in person came these *Protestant* Princes also. *Christianus* (another) *Marquess* of *Brandenburg*. *John William*, and *Bernard*, Dukes of *Saxon Weymar*. *William*, *Landtgrave* of *Hessen*, *Frederick* *Marquess* of *Baden*. *Augustus* Prince of *Anhalt*. *Frederick* Count of *Solmes*. *John George*, and *Ernest Lodowick*, Counts of *Mansfeilt*, and the (deposed) Dukes of *Mecklenburg*. These Princes sent their Ambassadors. The Duke of *Deuxponts*. *John Ernestus* another Duke of Saxony. *Frederick Vlrick*, Duke of *Brunswicke*. The Duke of *Lunenbourg*. The severall Princes of the *Circles* of *Schwaben* and *Franckenlandt*. The Lady of the *Abbey* of *Quedlinburg*. The Bishops *Administrators* of *Mecklenburg* and of *Bremen*. The Counts of *Stolberg*. The Barons of *Renssen* and *Schonberg*. These Townes and States send their *Agents* also. *Norimberg*, *Strasburg*, *Franckford*, *Lubeck*, *Bremen*, *Brunswick*, *Hildesheim*, *Mullhaisen* and *Northhaisen*. Duke *Lodowick Frederick*, *Administrator* of the Dukedome of *Wirtemberg* was newly dead; and Duke *Julius* not yet settled: and therefore being not able to come himselfe, he sent the

the Vice-Chancellor of the Dukedome called Doctor *Loefler*, and some other Counsellors, as Deputies for that Dutchie. And these be the *Protestant* party in the Empire: some whereof being *Lutherans*, and some *Calvinists*; they first of all agree to haue that distinction of names (which had caused so much schisme and hatred heretofore) to be vtterly taken away: making a generall Decree, that both Professions should from thence forth be called by one name of *Evangelicalls*.

That is, Professors of the Gospell.

No man was suffered to stay within the Towne, whose businesse was not knowne: the streets ends were chained vp and barricadoed; guards set at the severall ports; and the keyes of the gates every night brought into the Dukes chamber. And all this, was, to prevent Spyes and surprisalls. The Duke *Elect* of *Saxony* (on whose greatnesse and countenance, the Partie and Action very much depended) makes a speech first of all, which had reference vnto his former Letters of Invitation vnto them: protesting withall, his owne firmenesse and forwardnesse for the peace of the Empire, and the maintenance of the Religion; and that he would be ready to adventure, both life and goods in the Cause: so desiring every man freely to giue his Counsell in such manner, as they might be able to render a fayre accompt of it vnto the Emperour. Vnto this meeting, the King of *Sweden* also sends his Ambassador Doctor *Chemnitius*; who in his Maisters name delivers them this assurance. That his Majesties intentions were no other, then to restore the Empire to her ancient peace, the Princes to their liberties, and to defend the Church in her Religion: telling them moreover, how that the *French* King was newly entred into a League with him for five yeares to come. The Ambassador had both speedie Audience, and honorable entertainment. The *Dyet* (to be briefe) brake vp vpon *Palme-Sunday* the third of *Aprill* following. The Conclusions agreed vpon, themselves expresse in their Letters, in humble and complaining manner, enlarged in many sheetes of Paper, sent by an expresse Curryer vnto the Emperour: in which their joynt desires were thus signified.

Saxonys Oration.

Their

Their humble Remon-
strance vnto
the Emperour.

Their Complaint and Remonstrance, I reduce into these Propositions.

That the *Golden Bull* and *Constitutions* of the Empire, had of late beene all abused. That the Emperours late *Editl* for restitution of the Church Lands; and his endeavours to roote out the *Protestant* Religion, were the maine Causes of these late troubles. The first of these, breeding jealousies and discontents betwixt the *Protestants* and the *Papists*: and the second, tending to the vtter ruine of the two *Electors* of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*. Then they complaine of injustice done vnto particular Princes and Cities: some of which, were injured by the violent taking away of their Church Lands: as the Dukes of *Wirtemberg*, and *Brunswick*, the Prince of *Anhalt*; the Counts *Hohenloe*, *Stolberg*, *Lippe*, *Valdecht*, *Verthimb*, *Erpach*, &c. the Towne of *Ausburg*, and others. Some hindered in the exercise of their Religion: as *Augustus* and *Frederike*, Princes *Palatines*, and yonger brethren vnto *Wolfgang William*, *Palatine* of *Newburg* now turnd *Papist*. Others had their Estates confiscated: as the Lady* *Electresse* *Palatine*, and her Sonne *Lewis*, Prince *Palatine*; the Dukes of *Mecklenburg*, &c. for whom the whole Colledge of *Electors* had interceded in the late *Dyet*, but not prevayled. Others complaine of the violent altering of their Feods and Tenures of their Lands and Lordships; as the last before named Princes, and *Iohn Casimire* Elector of *Saxony*; into whose Lands the Imperiall Commissaries haue with force and Armes intruded; changing the tenures of the tenants, and altering the Religion. *Ernestus* Marquesse and Elector of *Brandenburg* complains of the same wrongs offered vnto his Pupils, the yong Marquesses* of *Onspach*. *Vlme* Duke of *Brunswick* complains, first of the ravages of his Lands done by *Tilly*: vpon pretence of moneyes owing to the King of *Denmarke*; and made over by the said King vnto the Emperour: who imployed *Tilly* thus to streyne for them: Secondly, of the seisure of his Bishopricke of *Hildesheim*: and thirdly, that the chiefe Towne of his owne residence *Wolffenbuttle*, had beene forced to take an Imperiall Garrison.

*The mother
and brother
of the King
of *Bohemia*:
Lewis being
Duke of *Simmern*.

*Which are of
the house of
Brandenburg:
their Lands
lying by *Nu-
enberg*.

Other.

Others complaine, how they might not haue the benefit of the Law; but were driven away by threatnings and discourtesies. The Electors and Princes complaine of contempts and indignities offered vnto their persons: some of them haueing beene threatned the *Bastonado* by some of the Emperors Souldiers. The Cities and Circles of the Empire complaine, that vndue and excessiue Impositions and Taxes haue beene layd vpon them: not by the consent of themselues, (as the Imperiall Lawes command) but at the pleasure of any of the Emperours Commissaries. That vnder colour of protecting them, they haue beene forced to afford Quarter and maintenance, vnto the Imperiall Armies: who when they should indeede haue defended them, most cowardly ran away. That when they would not endure the Souldiers insolencies, they haue beene declared enemies of the Empire, and forbidden to defend themselues. That their Lands haue beene given to Souldiers, as if they had beene Conquered. That they haue beene forced to contribute to imaginary companies of Souldiers, (perchance to foure or fve) as if they had beene a compleat band. That the Commissaries haue assigned Quarters and passages vnto the Souldiers, without euer asking leaue of the Princes or Countries. That people haue beene tortured for their money, had their Cattell driven away, their houses fired, and all Commerce driven out of their Country. That the Souldiers neither observed martiall discipline, nor morall honestie: neither keeping the Lawes, nor fearing God. That virgins and women haue beene ravished, vpon the high Altars. That if the weekly Contributions were not payd at the Commissaries absolute pleasure, the souldiers then spoyled the Country. The Marquesse of *Brandenburg* complaines, that notwithstanding the King of *Sweden* had two parts of his Country (the old and the new *Mark*) yet was he forced to pay a full Contribution, for the whole Marquisate. That himselfe, by the Souldiers so long lying in his Country, was left so poore, that he was not able to entertaine a Gariison for the defence of his owne Palace: and was faine to abridge even the necessary

provisions of his owne Table and family. That the Souldiers enterteyn'd by the *Protestants* for their owne defence, haue beene turn'd against them, to take away the Church Lands. That treble more Contributions haue beene raysed against no enemy, then ever were when the *Turke* was in *Germany*. That when the Princes of the house of *Saxony*, as namely, *Altemberg*, *Weymar*, and *Colburg*, had excused themselves of disabilitie to pay each of them 1454. Dollars a moneth, which the Commissary *Ossa* had required of them; then *Tilly* threatned to fetch 10000. Dollars a moneth out of them. That considering all this, they could perceiue nothing else, but that the Emperour had intended their vtter ruine: whereas he had dealt more gently with those of his owne hereditary Dominions. That all this is most contrary vnto the Oath of the Emperour, and vnto the Lawes of the Empire: and for such, hath beene complained vpon, by the severall Electors and Princes; and by them protested against in the late *Dyet of Ratisbone*. Wherefore they now humbly petition to be relieved; protesting otherwise, that they are no longer able to endure it: but shall be enforced to defend their persons, their Consciences, their Estates and Subjects. Resolving notwithstanding to continue their due loyalty and obedience vnto the Emperour: humbly now desiring a faire and a gracious Answer from him. *Lypsich, March 18.*

1631.

Their Con-
clusions pub-
lished.

Their Conclusions were answerable vnto their Propositions.

1. That considering it was their finnes which deserved these punishments; they command publike prayers to be made vnto Almighty God for the averting of these miseries.

2. That meanes might be thought vpon, and a friendly Treatie appointed with the *Catholike Princes*; for removing of all jealousies, and restoring of good termes and concord betwixt them, as for seaventie yeares before it had beene.

3. That when the time and place for this Treatie were once appointed; the *Protestants* should there appeare a little before,

before, to prepare themselves what to say in it.

4. And the sayrelier to dispose both *Cesar* and the *Catholikes* vnto their intentions ; that their grievances should in humble manner be before-hand by Letter presented, both vnto the *Emperour*, and the three *Catholike Electors*.

5. That these grievances should in those Letters be pressed ; to be contrary vnto the Emperours Oath, the Imperiall Lawes, the priuiledges of the Princes, the honour and safetie of the Empire. That the warres would vndo all, the insolencies of Commissaries and Souldiers were so insufferable, as that it stood neither with their Consciences, their safeties, nor their honours, to suffer themselves and Subjects, to be any longer thus abused : and that they would herevpon desire the benefit of the Emperours so often promised protection.

6. That seeing these greater and fuller Assemblies were both chargeable and tedious ; they agreed that certaine Deputies should as necessitie required be in the names of all the rest appointed, both to treat and determine of what should seeme convenient for the Common cause.

7. They decree of levies of Souldiers (both of horse and foote) to be made in their severall Dominions and Divisions : without crossing the Constitutions of the Empire, or offence of any ; and onely in their owne defence.

8. That whereas in a *Dyet* of the Empire held 1555. it had beene Decreed ; how that neighbouring Princes should liue neighbourly, and if any oppressed others, the rest should relieue them : this reliefe they now promise one another ; desiring that if in these troublesome times, the levies and other carriages could not possibly be every way agreeable to the Constitutions of the Empire, that it might not be interpreted to be done of purpose.

9. They decree the continuance of their loyaltie and obedience vnto his Imperiall Majestie.

10. They agree also vpon the proportion of the Levies.

Thus the *Electors* of *Saxony* engages himselfe to rayse six Regiments. *Brandenburg* three. The severall *Circles* of *Swaben*,

ben, the *Rhine*, and *Franckenlandt*, three Regiments a peece : and the Circle of the *Lower Saxony* agreed to furnish monyes for the rayfing and paying of one Regiment. Each Regiment of foote was to be 3000. strong : and of horse 1000. And thus the *Dyet* being ended vpon *Palme Sunday* with a Sermon ; *Saxony* displayes his *Defensine Banner*, beates vp his Drummes, begins his Levies : and so at their comming home, doe the rest of the Princes.

These Conclusions and Resolutions of the *Protestants*, were not a little boggled at, at Court ; did not slightly displease the Emperour ; and startle the *Catholike Leaguers*, with their Adherents. The *Protestants* heare of it on both eares : For this, are they both by words and writings, both threatned, and reviled : yea their new League and strength were by some *Confidents*, not a little scoffed and scorned at. But they that had beene vsed to hard deeds before, were sufficiently hardned against fowle words now ; they were not to be discouraged this way : they did their businesse, and let the others talke their talkes. Things going thus on ; it was by the middle of *May* every where perceived, How that these *Leaguers* of *Leipsich*, were now in very good earnest. For now vpon the taking of *Magdenburg*, the *Protestants* strongly suspecting by the inhumane crueltie there vsed by the *Imperialists* ; that it was not a heate of warre alone, but that there was a Coare of malice discovered in it : not an *Imperiall*, but a *Popish* spite, vnto that Citie aboue others ; for having beene one of the first that harboured *Luther* and his Religion : they beginne to make it their owne case, and that for their Religions sake, all they were likely not to be much better vsed. Some therefore of the neighbour Princes (those namely of *Saxony* and *Swaben*) demaund of the Cities of *Vlmes* and *Memmingen*, &c. Scituate in *Swaben* by the River of *Danubius*, (which were of the *Protestant* League with them) to entertheyne for Garrisons some of these new levyed Forces. *Memmingen* consents : but *Vlme* being a greater Citie, relies vpon her owne strength. These things being done, Cominand is given by the Emperour vnto *Eggon* Count of *Furstenberg*,

Furstenberg, (appointed Generall for the Circle of *Swaben*) to imploy those 8000. (lately come out of *Italy*, after that the warres of *Mantua* were ended) together with some 8. or 10000. more, against those Townes aforesayd. *Furstenberg* presses so hard vpon *Memmingen*; that about the beginning of *June*, he enforceth it to renounce the new League, and to purchase the Emperors pardon, at the rate of 50000. *Florens* readie pay, and 25000. monethly Contribution. The *Protestants* League being now noysed abroad, and another meeting at the latter end of *May*, at the same *Leipsich* intended; thither come the Ambassadors of *England*, *Sweden*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenburg*: There is the vniting of their forces with the King of *Sweden* propounded, but not concluded: onely the passage of *Wittemberg* heretofore denied him by *Saxony*, is now yeilded vnto, to be open for his Army. Mr. *Tilly* about the same time, dispeedes a message vnto *Saxony* with overtures of a peace; promising shortly to come himselfe with sufficient Commission to conclude it. This being suspected to be a plot, eyther to divert or stagger the resolution of the Duke, or a trick to gaine time; and that *Tillyes* Commission might perchance be in his scabbard; the message was not accepted: notwithstanding that *Tilly* did in mid *June* following, come in person indeede, and at *Oldsleben* had treatie with the Dukes Ambassadors.

When this would not doe, and the Emperour by the Dukes second Letters (dated the day after the end of the late *Dyet*) vnderstanding the resolution of the *Leaguers*, which by their generall levies he perceived them readie to maintaine: And hearing withall, the King of *Sweden* to be victoriously already advanc't, quitethrough *Pomerland* and *Mecklenburg*, into some places of *Brandenburg*: out-thunders He his Imperiall Bann against the *Leipsich Leaguers*, dated at *Vienna*, *May* 14. peremptorily forbidding any place of the Empire, to grant either reliefe, passage, or place of quarter, muster, or rendezvous, vnto any of their forces: commanding every man, to destroy, kill, and persecute them as enemies: and the easier to dehort the *Leaguers*, his Majestie offers

The Emperours Proclamation against them.

pers to release them of their Oaths, taken in prejudice of him at *Leipsich*; and to grant pardon to as many as should come in: vpon paine of death forbidding all their Subjects, eyther to contribute to their levies, or to serue vnder their Ensignes; but to turne both their moneyes and persons towards the advancement of his Imperiall service; promising the freedome of Conscience and Estates to all that should thus obey him.

Diverse people are naturally afrayd of thunder: some of the *Leaguers* therefore, (and especially the grave-headed Burgers in the richer Cities) began now to quake at the noyse of this so hideous a Proclamation. Which feare of theirs, much coold their blouds, madethem the lesse zealous and warme in the resolution. But he that hath not courage enough to fight, hath wit enough commonly to excuse his cowardize: So fell it out here; diverse of the backwardest palliating their owne remissnesse, with the newes they pretended to haue heard, of the mammering of the chiefe man in the action, the Duke of *Saxony*. And this had like to haue arrested the whole Designe. *Saxony* hearing of all this, notwithstanding he was at the instant hard layd at by *Hagen Muller* the Emperours Ambassadour, to come over to his Maister; yet (to prevent jealousie) would he not so much as once speake with him then at *Torgau*, but referred him for Audience over vnto his privie Councell.

Hagen Mullers Prepositions were these foure:

1. To consult how the businesse about the Church Lands might best be compounded.
2. How the inconveniences occasioned by the Warres, might be eased.
3. That the agreement of *Leipsich* for standing vpon their owne defence, might be Cancelled.
4. That he would advise how a peace might honorably be concluded with the *Swede*; and that the Duke would mediate it. The answere of the Dukes Councell is too long to insert: and to be briefe, the Ambassadour returnes not well satisfied. Immediately hereupon, the Duke dispatches his Letters vnto the severall *Leaguers*: assuring them of his owne Constancy;

Constancy ; and inviting them with all speed, to hasten their preparations.

These Letters of *Saxony* brought about the matter againe ; and he, to shew that he meant to doe more then write Letters ; layes sure guardes vpon his owne Frontiers, some eight or ten thousand men : proceeding warily hitherto, and all vpon the defensiu. The *Protestant* Princes of *Swaben*, (which lye along the *Danubie*, betweene the Dukes of *Wirtenburg* and *Bavaria*) doe herevpon assemble at *Essingen* ; resolving to sticke close to the Articles of *Leipsich* : reenforcing their levies therevpon. And now the fayre City of *Norenbeg* in the vpper *Palatinate*, returnes to her former resolution ; notwithstanding the particular threatnings of the Emperour, to giue the spoyle of it vnto their great neighbour, the Duke of *Bavaria*. The Citie of *Strasburg* armes also : and the Citie of *Vlme*, encouraged by the new Administrator of *Wirtenburg*, Duke *Iulius* ; refuses to giue passage to the late troopes, comming that way out of *Italy* : and send three hundred Muskettiers to ayde their neighbours of *Memmingen* against them.

The Landgraue of *Hessen* (against whose Country, it was generally reported that *Tilly* would forthwith come ; and that he was already for that purpose vpon his March as farre as *Saxony*) bestirres himselfe all this while ; levies men, and fortifies his Frontiers. *Tilly* sends, before he comes to him : and that these foure Demands.

1. To pay the arrier of the contribution due vnto the Emperour.

Tillyes quarrell to Hessen.

2. To giue sufficiently hostages or securitie for the future. Directly professing him eyther a friend or a foe, to the Emperour.

3. Immediately to cashiere his Army.

4. To lay open his passages for the Emperours forces : to receiue Imperiall Garrisons into *Cassell* and *Sichenheim* ; and to giue quarter to fve other Regiments.

Hard termes all. Vnto which the *Landgrave* returnes though a Negative, yet a modest answere. This way not speeding ;

speeding ; it seemes the way of practise and of trechery was attempted : for the *Landgrane* presently vpon this, discovers some correspondency enterteind by two or three of his owne chiefe Lords with *Tilly*, for the delivering vp his two chiefe Townes of *Cassell* and *Sichenbeim* ; for which they are executed. *Tilly* after this in a rage sends three severall troupes into his Countrey : his owne intended expedition against him being diverted by newes of the King of *Sweden*.

All this while (namely vntill the latter end of *June*) was there no assurance of the *Protestant* Princes purpose to vnite with the King of *Sweden* : but they all stood vpon termes of neutralitie ; kept their obedience vnto the Emperour, standing onely vpon the Defensue ; without once offering any Act of hostilitie, where they were not first provoked. *Saxony* had now 17000. foote, and 3000. horse, all in a readinesse. Vpon the same termes stand the *Marquesse* Elector of *Brandenburg* : who notwithstanding the neere alliance betwixt the King of *Sweden* and himselfe, (the King having married the Sister of the sayd *Marquesse* :) yet that he seemed farre enough from vniting with him, appears by an action of his, which had like to haue cost him dearly. The *Electer* denies a request of the Kings for provision for his Army, (now in the *Brandenburghers* Country) and especially for that the *Marquesse* now desired his Towne of *Spandau* againe, which vpon some termes had at the first bin lent vnto the King. Which the King taking very vnkindly, (diuers Circumstances perchance occurring) all of a sudden besieges the Electors Towne of *Berlin*, bending his Canon vpon the very Pallace ; threatening to pillage it. The difference is at length appeased by the *Electresse* ; together with the promise of 30000. Ryx Dollars a moneth, and to haue the Towne of *Spandau* (*Custrine* he also now againe desired as before he had done, as some say) againe consigned over vnto him as before, as a *Depositum* of assurance, for preventing of such like vnkindnesses in time to come. This done, the King about the middle of *June*, returnes from his Campe vnto *Stetin* ; there to giue Audience vnto the *Russian* Ambassadour, who

Vnkindnesse
betwixt Swe-
den and Bran-
denburg. Of
which see
more in the
Actions of
the King of
Sweden.

who brought him an offer from his Emperour, of a great power of money towards the maintenance of his Warres: requesting on the other side, some Commanders of the King to guide his Army against the *Pole*; for which Army he also desired passage through the Kings Country.

About the beginning of *July*, the *Crabats*, it seemes, being the fore-runners of those 18000. that had some while layn about *Vlme* and *Memmingen*; passe over the *Danuby* into the Duke of *Wirtenburgs* Country; where they plunder and spoyle 11. Townes and Villages: whom, Duke *Julius*, (newly chosen Administrator) meeting withall; what with his owne forces, and what with three Companies of foote and two Cornets of horse now sent vnto him from *Vlm*, vtterly defeates three troopes of their horse. Thus farre this new Administrator did brauely. But the rest of the Emperours Army vnder *Furstenberg*, (having now brought *Memmingen* vnder Contribution) passing the *Dannby* after their *Crabats*; first take in *Reitling*, an Imperiall Towne, Duke *Julius* looking on: who no sooner perceiues them to make towards his Army, now lying at *Tubing*; but his heart presently fayles him; and vpon the second day of *July* being Friday, shamefully yeelds to the signing of these Articles, which *Furstenberg* presents vnto him.

The Protestants partie weakened, by the revolt of *Wirtenburg*.

1. To disclaime the *Dyet of Leipsich*; to yeeld obedience vnto the Emperour: and as Hostages thereof, to resigne vp his brothers widow and Children, into the Emperours protection.

2. To dismisle his Army: giving leaue to those that would to serue the Emperour: the rest to sweare, never to beare Armes against the Emperour.

3. To giue Billet and Provisions vnto the Imperiall Army.

Tubing is hereupon yeelded vnto the Emperour: the fortune and example whereof, is followed by other Cities, both in that Dukedome, and throughout *Swaben*; & by *Vlme* among the rest. The terror strikes one way, as farre as *Heilbrunn* in the same Dutchy; within halfe a dayes journey of the lower

They mean to give the King of Swede, though they think not good to name him.

lower *Palatinate*; who thereupon dismisse their forces: and on the other side, the Citie of *Norimberg* quakes, in the vpper *Palatinate*. In so much, as (in a manner) all *Swaben* and *Franckenland*, fall off from the *League*, and come vnder the Emperours devotion.

Hessen stands firme.

The Landtgraue of *Hessen* remaines firme for all this: and Duke *Bernard* of *Saxon-Weymar* now peicing in with him; *Hessen* reyses a new Fort nere *Isenach*: and some of *Tillyes* Vant-curriers having now pressed vpon him as farre as the River *Warra*, yea and assauted his new Fort (though with some losse:) he withdrawes his troupes disperfed before vpon his Frontiers; and formes a standing Campe betwixt *Cassell* and *Eschwege*. Wee are by this time come into the middle of *Iuly*. About which season the Duke of *Saxony* (now much moved with the revolt of *Wirtenburg* & *Schwaben*;) calls his Parliament together to *Dresden*: and propounds these seaven Articles vnto them.

Saxony calls a Parliament.

1. Whether he were best to send any body to appeare for him, at the approaching Dyet of *Franckford*?

2. What to answer the Emperour, now pressing him to renounce the Conclusions of *Leipsich*?

3. How to behaue himselfe towards *Tilly*, who now began to vse hostilitie towards those in *Duringen*?

4. How to answer the Duke of *Bavaria*, demanding him to lay downe Armes?

5. How to pay, and where to quarter their owne Soldiers.

6. Whether they were best to joyne with a certaine great Prince, or not.

7. What were best to be done, for the relieving of the Bishopricke of *Magdenburg*?

They meane the King of Swede, though they thinke not good to name him,

What their resolution was, appeares by the successe: for within ten dayes after this, (that is, vpon *August* the second) the Duke with his Feild-Marshal *Arnhem*, Musters 13000. foote, and 5000. horse; provides his Pioners and Carriages; Commands all to be readie to March at an houres warning; fortifies *Leipsich*; goes to visite his Frontiers; and to the Towne

Towne of *Torgau* especially : which being a frontier towne, next vnto the Emperours Countrey of *Lusatia* ; and scituate also vpon the River *Elbe* ; lay very fit therefore both to cleare that Streame, and to hinder *Tillyes* further intrusions that way ; who lay all along vpon it, betwixt *Magdenburg* & *Saxony*. The Landtgrave of *Hessen* (againe) about mid-*August*, flies out vpon his vnfriendly neighbours, in the Bishopricke of *Hiersfelt* : brings that vnder contribution ; but meddles not with the Clergie. *Tilly* now writes vnto the Landtgraves people ; complaining of their Maisters purposes to joyne with the enemy. The Landtgrave goes on for all this ; and Marches vp into the Bishopricke of *Fulda*. To oppose him, is *Fugger* first sent vp with an Army, sayd to be some 16. or 18000. men : which for the service of the Catholike Leaguers, had beene before times rayled in the lower *Saxony* and the *Palatinate*. Within a while after whom, *Altringer* followes ; with some two Regiments more : which had heretofore layn about *Strasburg* & *Hagenaw*. Some of *Tillyes* also lye vpon him about the River *Werra* : and thus hath *Hessen* his hands full. Privately therefore goes he over vnto the King of *Swedens* Camp at *Werben* ; Some overtures of uniting are (perchance) there made : and he returnes home from the King, with three Regiments of horse, and one of foote ; with an able Commander over them : all lent vnto him for his assistance. *Brandenburg*, about *August 22.* sends Ambassadors vnto *Saxony* : and *Saxony* about the same time, sends privately vnto the King of *Sweden*. And now (perchance) were the overtures to the future vnion first agreed vnto on the Dukes part : in which vntill then he not declared himselfe. And thus appeares by a word of his, spoken about this time at *Torgau*, namely ; That if he thought his owne shirt knew his intention, he would teare it. Which reservednesse of his notwithstanding, there appeared (ever since the late Parliament of *Dresden*) a good inclination and confidence in the Duke towards the King. So that notwithstanding his shirt knew nothing, yet this may we guesse to haue beene the great secret : That if so be the Emperor would not come

Of *Hessen* againe.

Fugger and *Altringer* sent against him.

off, or did so fiercely presse vpon him to take in his Country: that then, if the King of *Sweden* by his joyning with him were likely to prevaile; he would rather side in with him, then suffer himselfe to be over-run by the Emperour. And that he carried a more private good affection vnto the King, then he thought it convenient as yet to discover; appears by his desiring of some expert Commanders of the King, (and Colonell *Tenuffell* by name) to leade his Army: But this did not the King at this present yeeld vnto; because that had rather engaged the King vnto him, then him vnto the King. Surely it is, that *Tenuffell* was not sent vnto the Duke; he being one of those that were on the Kings side, slaine afterwards in the great Battle.

Where the
Battell was
after fought.

About the twentieth of *August*, *Saxony* Musters his forces vpon that fayre plaine or heath by *Leipsich*: namely, sixtie Companies of foote; (ten Companies to every Regiment) and 1000. Muskettiers for his owne guards. Horse 4300. (of which 1000. to a Regiment) and 400. for his owne guards: over and aboue all which, were 1400. Curiaffers or men at Armes. These be the names of his chiefe Commanders. On Foote, *Swalbach*, Generall of the Artillery. *Arnheim*, Feild-Marshal. *Hans-George* of *Solms*, *Glitzwick*, *Loefer*, *Star-Schedel*, Colonels. Of the Cavallery these. The Duke of *Saxon Altenberg*, Generall *Bindtorp*, Sergeant Major. *Hofkerk*, *Steinau*, Colonels. *Dove*, Lieutenant Generall. All these troupes being thus Mustered; they were presently furnished with 400. Wagons of Provision and Ammunition, and fixe peices of Ordnance, out of the Dukes Magazine. While the Armie stayes thereabouts, there is first a Trumpet sent from *Tillyes* Hoast, to demaund passage of the Duke. He returning with no satisfying answer; *Tilly* sends these foure Propositions vnto him; to which he must haue a sudden and a *Categoricall* Answer.

1. Whether he would, like other Princes, yeeld vp his force to the Emperour; to beate *Sweden* out of the Countrey?
2. And as a Subject furnish the Imperiall Army with provisions?
3. And

3. And renounce the Conclusions of *Leipsich*?

4. And restore the Church Lands?

To all which, the Duke about the beginning of *September*, returns not onely a negative resolution; but aggravated it also with some Circumstances of unkindnesse offered him by the Emperour, in requitall of his so many good services; be-moaning himselfe, of the vntrustinesse of the *Catholike Princes*: yea even before the Emperours Ambassador then with him, he protests; that they should not finde a Duke of *Wirtemberg* of him, he would not suffer himselfe to be led by the nose: but bade the Ambassador tell his Lord and spare not, that he would liue and dye in defence of the Conclusions of *Leipsich*. This resolution in the Duke, was quickned (per-chance) by the *French* Ambassador, then with him; so that having discovered himselfe thus farre against the Emperour, he sees no way but eyther to be vndone by *Tilly*, or to joyne with *Sweden*. And now while the termes of vniting might be concluded with that King (to meete with whom, and the Marquesse of *Brandenburg*, himselfe the Tuesday following goes vnto *Wittemberg*) the Duke thinkes of keeping out of *Tilly*. Having gotten intelligence therefore, that the Count of *Furstenberg* (now joyned with *Tilly*) was by him sent as a Vantcurryer vnto *Hall*; and that he made provisions of Bridges: the Duke fearing, that his meaning was to passe over the Rivers of *Sala* and *Mulda*, and so to make for the Citie *Torgau* vpon the *Elbe*; which Towne lying betwixt *Leipsich* and *Wittemberg*, had he once made himselfe Maister of; he had quite cut off the King of *Sweden*, from ever coming into *Saxony*; and had gotten all the commaund of the *Elbe* besides, *Saxony* therefore suspecting *Furstenbergs* intention; rises with his whole Army from about *Leipsich*, and makes with all speed towards *Torgau*: both to secure that, and there to meete with the King of *Sweden* also. By this time was the sayd Kings Army drawne downe as farre as *Wirtemberg*; himselfe is now at the Consultation of *Torgau*: *Brandenburg* was already joyned with him: and nothing hindred *Saxonys* vniting too; but some termes partly of cau-

tion, and partly of honour; whether he were to yeeld the whole Command of his owne Army vnto the King, or not? Which the King absolutely desiring, and the Duke making some Objections against, the Vnion was the longer a concluding.

Well! if *Saxony* will not joyne, *Tillyes* hast (for he longs to be beaten) shall quicken his slownesse. For no sooner doth *Furstenberg* perceiue his designe for *Torgau* defeated; but thitherward marches he. *Tilly* was now come vp to him. With 3000. foote, and 1500. horse therefore, first he takes in *Mursenburg*, *Tilly* going towards *Welsenfels*, and other places about *Leipsich*: blocking vp by this meanes, even the Towne it selfe. And now there was no remedie; *Saxony* must joyne, or be lost: vpon the 14. of *September* therefore he thoroughly condescends vnto the King of *Swedens* Propositions. And thus haue wee brought *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* into the King of *Swedens* Army. Turne wee backe againe vnto that King, to shew by what degrees and approaches, he gained thus farre into the Empire.



RELATING
THE PROCEEDINGS

Of that PRINCE, from his first Landing
in GERMANY 1630. vntill his
great Victory over TILLY.

HISTORICALLY DIGESTED.

For the Readers better vnderstanding of the
King of Sweden, wee haue here given you his Ma-
jesties Pedigree : which may serue in stead of an In-
troduction.

THE PEDIGREE

Of the High and Mightie Prince *Gustavus*

Adolphus, by the Grace of God, King of Swe-
dens, Goths, and Vandals, great Prince of Finland,

Duke of Esthonia and Carelia, Lord of Ingria.

Gustavus Ericus.

Ericus, Iohannes. Carolus.

Sigismundus. Gustavus Adolphus.

Ladislaus.



VSTAVVS ERICVS, first of that name and
bloud, was one of those six Hostages sent vnto
(that scarce to be paralleld Tyrant) *Christiern*
King of Denmark, Anno 1518. Which Hosta-
ges he having gotten into his power, most per-
fidiously reteined as his prisoners; carrying them away with
him

I.
Briefe notes
vpon this
Pedigree.

him into *Denmarke*. But *Gustavus* having found both favour and libertie one day to goe a hunting; disguises himselfe, and escapes: after many dangers arriving in his owne Countrey, Anno 1520. About which time the sayd King *Christiern* contrary vnto his promise made vnto the *Svedes* vpon their submission, vpon which he promised to remit all offences: beyond all examples of Christianitie within foure dayes after his Coronation, causes all the Nobilitie, Gentry, Bishops, Counsellors, and prime Citizens of the Kingdome of *Sweden*, to be eyther hang'd or beheaded: the streetes of *Stockholme*, where he was Crowned, to runne with bloud; the carcasses to lye three dayes vnburied, and then to be burned, &c. Amongst the number of the massacred, the Father of *Gustavus* was one. When *Gustavus* had once heard of this hideous newes; he, having that winter time gathered some small company together, exciteth the *Svedes* to vindicate their Countreyes libertie. In the valourous successe whereof, himselfe having beene a chiefe Author, is in the yeare 1523. by consent of all the States of the Country, chosen King. He thus elected, refuseth to be Crowned: contenting himselfe onely with the title of *Governour*. By authoritie of which dignitie, Anno 1527. he summons a Parliament; where he propounds the *Reformation of Religion*: in which finding much opposition, and little hope; he surrenders the Kingdome vnto the States againe. The Land thus brought into a streight, humbly beseech *Gustavus*, once againe to accept of the Kingdome. Thus was he Crowned Anno 1527. becomming the first *Protestant* King that ever was in the world. This same yeare was *Rome* taken by *Charles* Duke of *Burbon*. This *Gustavus* from the time of his Coronation reigned 33. yeares.

Ericus, the eldest sonne of *Gustavus* succeeded his Father. Anno 1560. who reigning eight yeares, dyes without Issue.

John, the second sonne of *Gustavus* succeeded his Brother, Anno 1568. Reigned 24. yeares. His onely Issue was *Sigismund*; chosen in his Fathers life time (viz. 1587.) King of *Poland*, and is yet living.

Sigismund,

Sigismund, King of *Poland* succeeded his Father *John* in the Kingdome of *Sweden*, Anno 1594. He tooke an Oath to maintaine the priviledges of the Kingdome, to admit no other Religion then that of the *Augustane Confession*; and to bring in no Strangers. Which Oath he palpably now violating; first, by going about to alter the Religion; then by endeavouring to enslave *Sweden*, by making it to be a Province of the Kingdome of *Poland*, Anno 1599. he was in a full assembly of the States of *Sweden*, rejected and deposed: and his Sonne *Ladislaus* (then an Infant) chosen in his place: But with this Condition, If within six moneths he were sent into *Sweden*, there to be brought vp in the Protestant Religion.

Ladislaus, Sonne of *Sigismund*, not being sent into *Sweden* according to the Condition of his Election, lost his title vnto the Kingdome. And

Charles Duke of *Suderman*, the third and youngest Sonne of *Gustavus*, & the deliverer of his Country from the oppression of the *Polacks*, was chosen King, in the yeare 1601.

Gustavus Adolphus, the Sonne of *Charles*, succeeded his Father Anno 1612. being the present, and hitherto the successfull Assertor of the *Germane* libertie.

Here may it fayrely be observed. 1. That all the posteritie of *Gustavus* (which with himselfe are seaven in number) were eyther Kings, or elected to a Kingdome, vnto the third and fourth generation. The last whercof, and the scaventh in order, is the present *Gustavus*. 2. Obserue. That *Gustavus Ericus*, the Grandfather of this *Gustavus Adolphus*, obtained a Kingdome by delivering his Country from the Tyranny of the *Danes*: *Charles* his Father, for delivering it from the *Pole*. In which heroicall disposition of his Ancestors, *Gustavus Adolphus* now succeeds his Father and Grandfather, in vndertaking this present warre, for the asserting of *Germany*, from the pressures of the present Emperour. 3. Besides that this Prince is descended of a Family of Deliverers; there seemes to be another Omen in his Stile, as well as in his Pedigree: he writes himselfe King of the *Goths* and *Vandals*; which

which Nations haue once heretofore beene fatall vnto the Empire.

This braue Prince having in the yeare 1619. had first a warre with the *Pole*, and then a *Peace*; was by the complaints & invitations of the *Germane* Princes, the next yeare brought over into the Empire. You haue before heard of the miseries of *Germany*: and yet had the *Protestant Princes* in their *Dyes* of *Leipsich* beene modest in their *Remonstrance*: they had not told you all. *Stralesundt* and *Stetin*, *Mecklenburg* and *Pomerland*, were so heavily oppressed, so sorely over-layd, that they had not breath enough left, to be heard sigh so farre as the Emperours Court. A sound (we know) is vsually conueighed further along the water, then over-land: which may (perchance) be one of the reasons, why their complaints are sooner listned vnto in *Sweden*, then at *Vienna*. These Maritime people therefore finding no reliefe ashore; are forced to fetch their succours, whence they vsually did their Merchandize, out of the *Baltick* Sea. The King of *Sweden* is allyed with *Bogislavus* Duke of *Stetin*; and with *Iohn Albert* and his brother, Dukes of *Mecklenburg*: is confederate with *Stralesundt* and *Pomerland*; and therefore likeliest to be their Friend. His safetie much depended vpon theirs: had the Emperour beene Maister of those Ports and Sea-coasts; he would neither haue beene so fayre a Merchant to him; and might withall haue proved a more dangerous and over-maisterly a neighbour. Againe, this King now having a good Peace, had therefore the better leisure. His Army being not yet cashier'd, the reliefe would not altogether be so chargeable. His experience in the warres being great, his fame (now after the beating of the *Pole*, and two Imperiall Armies in *Prussia*,) more; he was also thought to be the ablest to deliver them. His Majestie therefore being by the pittifull and redoubled complaints of his Allyes, his Confederates, his Neighbours, sollicitated over and over againe to come in vnto their rescue; that this bare invitation of his Friends might not be censured for a plot betwixt them, or not to be cause enough for his coming: loe, he is even puld over by his enemies provocations.

cations. But for the greater Authoritie with the Reader, we will giue you the just Apologie of that Prince: the pressing reasons for his moving with an Army into *Germany*, himselfe having caused to be Printed: the Arguments whereof, we here abbreviate into Propositions.

His Majestie first protests; That he had not stirr'd at all; no not though he had often beene warned to looke vnto himselfe: nor would he take any notice of it, vntill some affront or maine occasion of quarrell, had beene actually offered by the Emperour. That having beene by his oppressed neighbours and Confederates invited vnto their reliefe, he for a long time rather expected the Emperours goodnesse towards the Subjects of *Germany*, then desired to interesse himselfe against him, with whom he so much desired the continuati- on of Amicitie. That the quarrell was first begunne by the Em- perour; who in the late warres of *Prussia* betwixt *Sweden* and *Poland*, had prohibited the King of *Sweden* to make any Levies of men, or provision of victualls or Ammunition in *Germany*, apparently granting the same libertie vnto his ene- my the King of *Poland*. That the Emperour himselfe had heretofore sent two severall Armies vnder his own Ensignes into *Prussia*, in ayde of the *Pole* his enemy: the first in the yeare 1627. vnder the Command of the Duke of *Holsteyn*; and the second, sent 1630. was conducted by *Arnheim*, Marshall of the Feild vnto *Walstein*. That his Currier ryding Post with his packetts, hath beene stayed; his Letters vnto *Bethlem Gabor* opened, and false Copies published of them. That his Ambassadors haue beene flighted; not admitted to Audience; not vouchsafed answer; forbidden to stay in *Germany*. That vpon his seeking of peace, by mediation of the King of *Denmarke*, he obtained nothing but affronts and delayes: and that writing to the Colledge of *Electors*, then assembled at *Lubeck*, 1629. he found in their answeres by their Letters, the maine poynt of the busines not once toucht vpon: and so no remedie that way neyther. That the poore Towne of *Stralsunde* (notwithstanding it had no way wronged the Emperour, and had received *Assurances* and

The King of
Swedens Apo-
logy & com-
plaints.

Walstein was
sayd to haue
given *Arnheim*
his Commis-
sion in these
words: *Arn-
heim*, goe take
10000 men;
you must beat
the King of
Sweden out of
Prussia; and if
you cannot
doe it, tell him
that *Walstein*
will come.

* *Walstein.*

promises of protection from him) yet had it beene blockt vp by the Duke of **Freidlandt*; and the Island of *Rugen* lying in the Sea right against it, taken by the sayd *Freidlandt*. That the Towne and Island aforesaid, his Confederates, had often complained vnto him of this injustice; and desired his peacefull mediation first, and his Armed assistance afterwardes. That considering how things stood betwixt the Emperour and himselfe, it much concerned him not to suffer that Island and Towne, to be possessed by his enemies: seeing they lye so commodiously for the commaund of the *Balticke Sea*; and so dangerously for infesting of the Coasts of *Sweden*, which be right against it. That the Emperour had actually molested those Coasts with shipping; which he had newly gotten from *Dantzick* and other *Hanse* Townes thereabouts: had hindered the *Swedish* trade, and merchandizing vpon the Coasts of *Germany*: taken his Shippes by reprisall at Sea; layd *imbargoes* vpon them to arrest them in the Ports and Havens: and had purposed to make the *Sound* and Sea thereabouts, to be the seate of their pyracies; to the vtter vndoing of the *Swedish* trade that way, and the great molestation of all Nations that trafficke in those Seas. That in ayding of *Stralesundt*, he had done no more then the King of *Denmark* had done before him: who had lent them a garrison; which vpon the agreement of *Denmarke* with the Emperour, the Towne had been enforced to discharge (the King vpon some occasions being now become their enemy) and that not till then, had he taken the Towne vnder his protection. That his owne comming with an Army into the bounds of the Empire, was vnder publicke protestation of no hostilitie meant vnto the Empire, or person of the Emperour. That his comming was principally to relieue that distressed Prince his Cosin and Confederate, the Duke of *Stetin* and *Pomeran*, miserably at that time, and so for three yeares had beene, injuriously oppressed by the Emperour. That he was not onely ingaged by ancient Allyances and Confederacies, to ayde the state of *Pomerland* thus distressed, spoyled, taken, and disarmed; but it concern'd him also in poynt of State and good

good policie, not to suffer his enemy to be Maister of those Coasts of the *Baltick* Sea; whence he might at pleasure infest *Sweden*, and at leisure and opportunitie invade it. That his League with the layd Duke, was *Defensive* onely: and not for any *offensive* warre against the Emperour. That in recovering of the Ile of *Rugen*, he had rather fayrely turn'd out, then beaten out, the *Imperialists*. That the end of his comming, was no more then the reliefe of *Stralesundt* and *Pomerlandt*; and the securing of his owne Dominions of *Sweden*: too neere vnto which he perceived the Emperour to be now encroaching, with no good intention. That if peace and safetie might on those parts be assured, he would no further enter into the Empire.

These Complaints, Aggrievances, and Provocations of the King of *Sweden* were in fayre and respectfull manner, by Letters first presented vnto the Emperour: and when that course brought no redresse, then for justification of his proceedings, and by way of Apologie, were the Circumstances enlarged, and the whole Printed, for the world to judge vpon: and that all indifferent Readers might there receiue an Accompt of the Causes, which at length constrained him to mooue with an Army into *Germany*.

These Reasons much satisfied the world, made the pretence of his comming fayre. And that the enterprize of this great Champion of the *Germane* Libertie, might bring Credit with it, as well as Strength; both rumored and feared every where in the Empire it was, that diverse other potent Princes were with him interessed in the Action: and that there was a private Vnion made betwixt *England*, *France*, *Russia*, *Sweden*, *Venice*, and *Holland*, (all then at difference with the Princes of the house of *Austria*) and that He was the Head of the Vnion. The presumption for this suspition was, that the Ambasiadours of these Princes were observed lately to haue beene together in his Camp; and beleev'd to haue communicated both Counsells and Intelligence with him. How much redoubted his comming was, appears by the preparations made against him, in the places neereft vn-

The Empe-
rours prepa-
rations a-
gainst him.

The Kings
advantages.

to his Landing. The Townes of *Pomerland* and its neighbour *Brandenburg*, were full of *Imperiall* Garrisons. In *Mecklenburg* was the new intruded Duke *Walstein*, and his forces. In *Silesia* were all those Bridges and passages vpon the River *Oder* next vnto *Brandenburg*, stopt vp, mannd and fortified, about the beginning of *June* 1630. To make good the Bridge of *Dessau* vpon the *Elbe*, (which was the passage towards *Magdenburg*;) are fourscore Companies of Horse and Foote sent downe from *Swartzenburg*, *Coburg*, and other places. Into *Pomerland* are there more Forces sent out of *Magdenburg*. *Torquato Conti* was now appointed Generall of the *Imperiall* Forces in *Pomerland*. He and Colonell *Hatzfeldt* are very pressing with the Duke of *Stetin*, absolutely to deliver them vp the passages of *Gartz* and *Gripenhagen* vpon the *Oder*: which it seemes that they wrung out of him. The King of *Sweden*, finally hath no Towne to friend but the distressed *Stralesundt* onely, where he might safely Land his Forces. Much for the Kings advantage perchance it made, and the lesse resistance he found; that *Walstein*, who had heretofore domineerd in those parts, and who had left those troopes there which the King now found engarrisoned; was now out of the way; and that *Torquato Conti*, a man not beloved, then commaunded in those parts. *Walstein* was about the time of the Kings first coming eyther busied about his new Dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, or else waiting at *Memmingen* by *Regenspurg*, to receiue a new Commission to goe Generall against the *French*: and vpon the Princes of the Empires fore complaining against him, he was by the Emperour (as you haue heard) quite discharged of his Armie. *Tilly* was not yet come so high vp, since the warres with *Denmarke*. Of *Pappenheim* we heare not thereabouts, till *October* following. Plainly, the King of *Swedens* great advantage it was, that he was too much flighted by the Emperour: who though he fortified places, yet did he not time enough employ any of his great Captaines against him. And that the Emperour abused himselfe too much, in too much flighting the King; appeares by his Answer vnto the Duke of *Saxo-*

yes Letters, in *August* giving him intelligence how farre the King was alreadie advanced in *Pomerland*. Which was; how that himselfe was so well provided for him, that he was confident "to scatter any power of the enemy. A despised enemy we haue "by experience seene to haue made fowle worke: and God "mostly workes by such despised meanes, that himselfe may "therein be observed to be the Lord of Hosts. Further then this, wee will neither Comment nor Devine.

Before the Kings setting foote within the Empire, he in *Aprill* sends forth his gracious Declaration of his intent to maintaine *Stralesundt*, &c. Which the Emperour might well take for a Herald at Armes to proclaime his comming, and so prevent it; and not complaine afterwards (as he did) that he stoale in vpon him. His Majestie having thus declared himselfe for *Stralesundt*, makes his first warre for the freeing of that. A small Iland there is in the *Baltick* Sea within some halfe league off *Stralesundt*, called *Rugen*. A ragged square plot it is, some seaven Dutch leagues over. This Ile being a Principalitie of the Duke of *Pomerlands*; was (like other of his Lands) rather infested now, then guarded, by the *Imperialists*. That the King therefore might cleare that Ile, and his owne way both at once; and leave no enemy to trouble his Landing, or to come vpon his backe; he giues order before his owne setting forth of *Stockholme* (the chiefe Citie of *Sweden*) to haue that Iland begunne withall. About mid-*Aprill* therefore, did the people of *Stralesundt*, assisted with some 18. shippes of *Sweden* (which had wintered in the *Pilau*, and other Ports thereby) prepare to fall vpon that, and *Hiddenzee* another little Ilet hard-by on the Northwest: both which being open places, were by the end of *May* well cleared of the *Imperialists*. One indifferent strong Sconce by *Brandisbagen* vpon *Rugen* there is, into which the *Imperialists* betooke themselves; not so easie to be taken as the rest. These of *Stralesundt* therefore now newly strengthened from *Sweden*; vpon the 17.th of *June* following, with 3000. foote and foure troupe of horle, resolute to set vpon the Fort. Marching vp therefore from the old Ferry into the Ile,

The Ile of
Rugen taken.

The Fort of
Brandishagen
taken.

Ile, they in Battell array shewe themselves before the Fort : twelve great Shallops and two Gallies, well mannd and furnished with shot, in the meantime besieging them by water. The Fort perceiving this, by a resolute Sally labour to hinder their Landing : but the *Swedish* discharging eight peices of Ordnance from their Boats amongst them, quickly make them to retyre. Landing being thus gained, and their batteries raised ; they readily dismount the enemies Canon, and put him from his Ordnance. The 18. day, the *Swedish* Generall demaunds vp the Fort : their answer was, to defend it to the last drop of bloud. The next morning, there was from *Brandishagen* (which lyes over against the Fort) a boate of fresh water sent vnto their reliefe. The *Swedish* Shallops giue fire apace vpon the Boate ; in rescue of it, doth the Garrison sally out : a great smoake arising from their shooting in the skirmish, is by the winde carryed full into the Fort ; the *Swedish* apprehending the advantage, fall pell mell vpon it, getting among the sallyers into the Fort, ere ever they were aware of it. Thus was it taken without the losse of one man. The *Swedish* being Maisters of the peice, put all to the sword whom the next day they found in Armes. Two hundred prisoners they tooke ; six peices of Ordnance ; sixtie barrels of Bisket ; much Beere and provisions.

The King of
Sweden lands.

Whilest these things were there a doing, his *Majestie* is in his owne Countrey busie about imbarking his men. Some 12000. brought he out of *Sweden* with him, for so many were scene march : His Fleete was about some hundred and thirtie Shippes of all sorts. With these having beene five weekes at Sea, (whereof a whole moneth in one place) he came to an Anchor neare the Iland of *Rugen*, which lyes a mile distant from one of the mouthes of the River *Oder* called *Pennemundt*. Immediately hereupon, his *Majestie* gaue order for the Landing of the Foote or Infantry : which was done in great Sloopes or flat bottomd Boates, provided for that purpose ; whereof each one would well carry an hundred Souldiers, with two Feild-peices. His *Majestie* himselfe in person landed first, at that Dorp or Village in the Ile
of

of *Vsedome*, called *Pennemundt*; being at that present waited vpon by two *Swedish* Earles, that were brethren, *Grave Neeles* and *Grave Ioachim* by name. Next him were landed Colonel *Lillie*, Colonel *Cag*, and Colonel *Hansson*, all *Swedish*, with their Regiments. Next to them Landed the Lord *Reay* Colonel; together with Colonel *Spence* and Colonel *Mag-dongall*, with their three *Scottish* Regiments. Last of all landed the Lord *Falkenberg*, Lord Marshall of his *Majesties* household; together with Colonel *Hall*, and Colonel *Derickson*, with their three Regiments of *High-Dutch-men*. All these eleven foresayd Regiments, were landed and entrenched before day-light. Vpon the second of *July*, after the Souldiers had a little reposed and refreshed themselves; his *Majestic* commaunded the Canon, baggage, and victualls to be landed; and because the Army had beene so long at Sea, he thought it expedient to rest them there for two dayes; in which space he landed his Cavalry or Horse also.

This Ile of *Vsedome* where the King was new landed, is situate not farre from *Stralesundt*, and to the South-east of it, towards *Stetin*: betwixt the *Baltick* Sea on the North, the mouth of the *Oder* (which from the River *Pene* disemboguing into it, is called *Penemundt*,) on the West; the great fresh Lake called the *Frischhaff* on the South, and the Ile of *Wollin* on the East. Vpon the fourth of *July*, twelue troupes of the Kings Horse, together with three thousand Muskettiers, went out vpon a partie; the King himselfe commanding them. They marched vpwards three miles into the Ile of *Vsedome*; where they saw diuerse troopes of the enemies, but all of them ranne away. The 5.th and 6.th dayes were spent in hearing of Ambassadors, from the Dukes of *Mecklenburg*, *Pomeran*, and the Towne of *Stralesundt*. On the 7.th day, his *Majestic* leaving Colonel *Knip-howsen*, then Sergeant Major Generall, with two Regiments of foote to defend the workes at *Penemundt*; with the rest of the Army passing over the water on the West side of the Ile; marches vp to the Towne of *Wolgast*. Here had the enemy a strong Sconce on the water-side, directly against the Castle vpon the

The Ile of
Vsedome taken.

Ile of *Vsedome*: which Sconce, his *Majestie* thought fittest to be first assaulted. As he marched towardes this Castle, the *Crabats* falling out, begun the Skirmish with the Kings Horse: who being presently secondded by the foote, constrained the *Crabats* to giue ground with great losse. Those of them which were not killed in the fight, making great hast vnto the River, by which they thought to swimme over vnto the Castle; were all miserably drowned. Those within the Sconce, thus perceiving their fellowes misfortune; in great hast retyred into their boates: where being hardly charged by the Kings men, the most of them were also drowned. Their confusion was so great; that three hundred of them then perished by the sword, or in the water. The whole night following, the Canon from the Castle playd very hard vpon the Kings folke, but with little or no losse vnto his *Majestie*. Vpon the 8.th of *Iuly*, his *Majestie* leaving Sir *Iohn Bannier* to keepe the Sconce that was taken; marched from thence vnto a Cloyster called *Pudegla*; which was a strong passage vpon the Ile of *Vsedome*. But the enemy, before the Kings comming, had spoyled and pillaged all that there was, and then ranne away. Here the King lodged all night.

The Ile of
Wollin taken.

Vpon the 9.th of *Iuly*, the King marched to the *Swing*, on the East-side of the Iland; where the other mouth of the *Oder*, disemboketh into the *Baltick* Sea. There found he a Sconce, strongly builded indeede, yet but weakly defended: the Garrison vpon the first sight of the Kings troopes, abandoning the place, and shifting themselves over the River into the neighbour Ile of *Wollin*. This place, which the *Oder*, the *Frischhaff*, the Sea, and a little Fret of water, make into an Iland; lyes on the East-side of *Vsedome*: and here the King having found Boates, immediately followes the *Imperialists*. Here had the Duke of *Saxonyes* Sister a Castle; which the enemy fleeing out of, miserably deface with fire. And now those that lately fled into the Ile, as also the rest that were there in severall Garrisons before; did not onely abandon their strong Sconces and Fortifications; but left, not their Canon onely for hast, but their very Horses also; together
with

with a great deale of their baggage ; with two Leopards in a Cage ; left there by the Duke of *Freidlandt*, who had thought to haue presented them vnto the Emperour.

In these two Ilands of *Usedom* and *Wollin*, the King remained some twelue dayes ; vntill he had made sufficient provision of Gallies and other Vessells, for the transporting of his Army through that great *Frisch haff*, and from thence vp the River of *Oder*, vnto *Stetin* : which was done the 26. of *Iuly*. This Towne of *Stetin*, is the Seate and Title of the Duke of *Pomeren* and *Stetin* : Scituate within Land it is, South of the *Frisch haff*, being the chiefe Towne of the Countrey, and the onely good Towne of the Countrey in sole possession of the Duke, that was free from *Imperiall* Garrisons. And now the King landing his men at a Castle within an *English* mile of the Towne, about ten a clocke in the forenoone, presently puts them into Battalia. *Grave Neeles* and the Lord of *Reay* commaunding foure hundred Muskettiers, that day had the Vantguard; and were both commanded to march towards the North Port of the Citie, called the *Mill-doore* : the King in the meane time with three hundred Muskettiers, making towards a Horn-worke, that was then a building, within a Musket-shot of the Dukes Palace. While this was a doing, all the Ladies and Gentlewomen, were in the windowes, and vpon the Leades, looking vpon the King and his folkes. All this while there appeared not any one man out of the Towne, to make any defence : which the King now observing, at last sends a Trumpet towards the Ports, to demand entrance. This message made knowne vnto the Duke, a Colonel, who had the Commaund of some 1200. Muskettiers within the Towne, is sent to parlie with the King. His message was, an Assurance from the Duke his Maister, that he had resolved to stand *Neuter*. His Majestie nothing contented with this message; sends the Colonel backe againe vnto the Duke : commaunding him to tell his Maister from him ; That he was not come into *Germany* for any private ends of his owne : but sent for, by him especially, and other distressed Princes; that by the force of his Armes, they might

Stetin taken.

be free from the yoke, which lay so heavie vpon their necks : and therefore, great reason had the Duke to open his Ports, and to receiue him into his Towne. And this if the Duke refused to doe; he bad the Messenger assure him, that he would enter it, by a breach made through his Castle: giving present order thereupon to haue the Canon mounted. The Duke vpon the receipt of this round message, advises with his Counsell a while : who having concluded what was on the sudden to be done, the Port is opened, and the draw bridge let downe, and the Duke in his Coach issues out, waited vpon by some Gentlemen on Horsebacke : addressing himselfe directly towards the King. Vpon the meeting, much conference passes about surrendring of the Towne ; the King pressing ; and the Duke excusing, altogether desirous to stand *Neuter*. Of this would not the King heare at any hand : making vse of that (which in Dutch is a Proverbiall saying,) *They that are not with me, are against me.* And now the King taking notice of the Ladies and Gentlewomen on the Leades and Windowes ; Cofin (sayes he to the Duke) if you meane to keepe me out of the Towne, you must set other manner of people to guard it, then these Ladies ; for Ile assure you, they will never be able to hold out against any one company of my Souldiers. The Duke perceiving his Majestie, though pleasant, yet earnest ; desires leave to goe againe into the Towne. The King consents vnto the motion : but sent order withall vnto the Lord *Reay*, to guard the Dukes person thitherward : and that when the draw-bridge was let downe, and the Ports set open for the Dukes Coach ; to enter the Towne together with it ; and if it were possible, to make good the Port. The Lord *Reay* having enough of his instructions, so disposes his Muskettiers (which were *Scottish*) that two hundred of them marcht before the Coach ; and must needs therefore enter before the Dukes Coach could : so that this peice of service was done, even as the King would haue it. Thus the Lord *Reay* being entred within the outter Port, the Towne Garrison retyred from thence within the inner Port : and the *Scots* entring pell-mell with them, that Port

was

was also taken. By this did the King presently enter the Towne, with his whole Army. The Duke seeing this, dismisses his owne forces, which he had till then, there kept in Garrison: who thereupon tooke present oath and pay, for the Kings service.

The next morning, the King commaunds Sir *John Bannier* Generall of his Infantry, to take with him 600. *Swedish* Muskettiers, vnder the commaund of *Grave Ioachim*, and 600. *Scottish* Muskettiers, vnder the commaund of the Lord *Reay*; to make an assault vpon the Towne of *Damme*, lying a mile to the South-East of *Stetin*. The Towne had on that side but one approach vnto it; and that was a narrow causey leading thorough the marish, vpon which the Towne stood. There 12000. men now advanc't almost as farre as a Sconce, which guarded the end of the Towne; a Country-boore comming vp to the Commanders, proffers them his service to leade them a secret way thorough the marish: by which meanes, they might more easily fall on, vpon the other side of the Towne. But the Burgers of the Towne, (who it seemes had intelligence with the Kings forces) now sending vnto them; desired them to haue the patience but to stay vntill night, and then they promised to giue them entrance by a private posterne gate. This delay was cunningly projected by the Townesmen; and served them to very good purpose: for had the Kings forces taken the Towne by assault, then, by the Law of Armes, had the pillage of the whole Towne beene their owne. Thus, (vpon what reasons or feares I know not) the enemies Garrison consisting of some two hundred and fiftie Muskettiers, and fortie horse, forooke the Towne that very evening; taking their way East-ward, towards the next Towne of *Stargard*. With the Burgers of this Towne of *Stargard*, the King having also intelligence; instantly sends thither also. But whether it was, that he thought not fit too farre to giue trust vnto those Burgers, and to adventure his owne men vpon their honesties; especially since the Garrison was thus lately reenforced: sure it is, that he employed none of his owne men, but committed the charge vnto that

Colonell and his men, who had layn in Garrison in *Stetin*, before his *Majesties* comming thither. This Colonel knowing the Country perfectly, came by night vpon the Towne: and having given advertisement vnto these Burgers within, with whom he had correspondency; they secretly opening a Port vnto him, giue him present entrance. He thus got in, presently cuts in peices the *Corps du guard*, which had the Watch vpon the Market-place. This done, he without stay goes towards another Port, which had two strong Sconces before it; these he presently assaulted, killing three hundred and fiftie Souldiers which he found within them. This act, had like to haue lost him the towne: for the rest of the towne Garrison, (which were asleepe in their beds when he at first entred,) now hearing the noyse; start vp, and betake themselves vnto their Armes; shutting withall, the Port behinde the Kings Colonell, who was now busily employed, vpon the execution within the Sconces. Very hard had it beene for him to haue entred the Towne againe, but that the Burgers at the same time taking Armes; by force opened another Port for him. The Garrison by this time having gathered into a head vpon the Market-place, now finding themselves too weake to resist so great forces; retire themselves into the Church-steeple: but now the *Swedish* turning the Canon which they had gotten in the two Sconces, against the steeple; the Garrison forthwith yeeld themselves, conditioning to goe off with their liues and Armes saved.

The Ile of
Cammin taken.

There were found in this Towne of *Stargard*, 500. barrels of meale; much powder and shott, and some Ordnance. The King after fortifies the place, with five new Bulwarkes, three halfe Moones, and such other Outworkes. Whilest this was a doing, *Cammin* another Ilet and Bishops See, butting vpon *Wollin*, is also taken. The rough methode of warre should haue fallen vpon the Towne of *Colbergen* next: but this being too tough a peice, is let alone till after wards.

The City of *Stetin* being thus taken, and the King vsing the people royally, they beginne to bethinke themselves of the good alteration they began to feele, holding themselves happy,
were

were but the King made their Protector. The overture of a League first, and the Articles afterward, were therefore now treated vpon, concluded, and published, about the tenth of *August*. This League conquered him the whole Countrey. The King, in a Preface prefixed to the Articles, excuses the Duke; professing to haue taken the Towne against his will. The Duke also subjoynes his owne Apologie; That he had beene forced to this League. 1. For that having no ayd from others. 2. He was too weake to haue resisted the King. 3. And that his Subjects having beene disarmed by their pretended Defenders the *Imperialists*. 4. Yea so impoverished, that they had not meanes sufficient left, barely to liue vpon; were thereby disabled to defend themselves. 5. So that having for three yeares together endured the hardest of oppressions; they were desirous rather to be freed, then further engaged, in a new warre and dangers. 6. Especially having beene so much discouraged to serue the Emperour, who neuer kept promise with them. 7. As for the Kings proceedings, his coursetaken to ease them, were just and Christian. 8. And seeing that very chary he was, to oppose the Emperour. 9. As purposing onely to restrain the insolency of these new oppressors. 10. Therefore he thought this League to be his best course, both to recover his owne estate, and to secure *Swedens*. Seing therefore the King had past his royall word, to be a friend and not a foe, vnto all places which he should recover: he professes himselfe willing to entrust his Countrey in the Kings hands, then hazard the losse of all. Foureteene Articles the King and Duke then agree vpon: of all which, these two chiefly concerne our Story. 1. That this warre was onely for Defence of the wronged, and not to injure the Emperour. 2. That all places recovered by the King, should be restored vnto the Duke. An Excuse besides these ten former Reasons, is by the Duke sent vnto the Emperour: which with the rest of the Articles we leaue to be read in the *English Printed Booke* of them.

A League betwixt the King and *Bogislaus* Duke of *Stetin* and *Pomerania*.

Stetin being thus agreed with the King, willingly giues him 50000. Rixe Dollars, and the Countrey as many: The Merchants

A Camp formed by *Stettin*.

The methode of the Story.

Wolgast besieged.

chants also granting him a Subsidie of Tonnage and Poudage, of three and a halfe *per Centum*. The King takes care first, for the guarding of the Citie: to which end it is not onely fortified with new and strange workes, but with a standing Leaguer or Camp-royall also; formed at the Towne-bridge, on the East banke of the *Oder*; over which the noble *Gustavus Horne*, Feild-Marshal to his Majestie, in his absence commands in chiefe. And here the Army being mustered and payd, is sent abroad vpon the errand they came for: and that one place might not helpe another, he with severall troopes fals at once vpon severall peices. To shew what every troope every day did, were to write a *Diary*, not a *Story*; and to take away the pleasure of the reading. In a continued narration therefore, will wee prosecute the Story of every Citie, and Action by it selfe, from the beginning to the end of it; and then goe backe againe to another: taking each in his order of place, and time; that the Kings proceedings may the more clearly be discerned.

By this time are we come to the middle of *August*: and the King by the taking of *Stargard*, advanc't as farre into the Countrey as right against *Gartz* and *Grippenhagen*; is desired by these of *Stetin* to besiege these two Townes; because the Garrisons that lay in them, vsed to ramble over all the Countrey, to spoyle, and plunder, and fetch in Contribution. But the King perceiving those strong places would take vp too much time, and he having a designe to cleare the Dutchy of *Mecklenburg*, as well as *Pomeran*; turnes his Army backe againe to these quarters: with a purpose in time to take the chiefe passages thither, before the enemy should prevent him, and put him thereby to more trouble; Passing therefore beyond *Stetin* and towards *Stralsundt* againe, he sets him downe before *Wolgast*; whose Port (as you heard) he had before taken. This is the chiefe Citie of the little Dutchy of *Wolgast* in *Pomeran*: The Towne he by fine force tooke in, wherein he found good store of provision, both of Corne and Ammunition. In the heate of the assault, the Garrison and chiefe Citizens retyre themselves into the Cittadel or Castle: This

This now the King asseiges. *Torquati Conti* the Emperours Generall in those parts, lay with his Army at that time at *Ancklam*, a Towne hard by *Wolgast*: he hoping to rescue the peice, comes with three Regiments towards the reliefe of it: but is well beaten for his labour; said to loose 12. Ensignes and 3. Cornets in the Skirmish. The Castle thus defeated of her succours, parlies: the conditions desired by the Garrison, were, To march out like Souldiers with full Armes, Colours flying, matches lighted, and their swords by their sides. The King will let them goe out with no more then white staues in their hands. Those termes refused, the King falls to mining: and with two boats well mann'd and furnisht with Ordnance, he comes to the *Oder*-bridge, there landing and enquartering his men. Sends for the Duke of *Stetin*; he come, they make their approaches towards the walls; which he round besets from the *Oder*-bridge vnto the mill-gate, raising Sconces and Batteries every where, where the ground was highest. Eight thousand Canon-shot are bestowed vpon the walles. They parlie againe; and the King condescends: six hundred Souldiers thereupon in five Companies, all vnder the command of Colonel *Sclécter*, come forth: Three Companies of these five, presently take Oath and pay for the Kings service: the rest march away. This was done in the end of *August*: about which time the Queene of *Sweden* being newly come over, the Castle is repayred and furnished for her Majesties residence. In this Siege, the King lost an hundred and twentie men.

Whilest the King besieges this Castle; *Torquati* perceiving no good to be done vpon him; and that the Queene of *Sweden* had newly brought over 8000. fresh men (as it was reported) with her, which might make the place too hot for him; rises with his Army from his Quarter at *Ancklam*, marching directly towards *Gartz*: about which the *Imperialists* by the King turnd out of other places, and others newly sent into *Pomerland*, began now to assemble. There he formes a Camp; which continued till the Towne was taken. He thus departing from *Ancklam*, leaues *Eystat* Governour in it: before

The Castle taken.

Ancklam taken.

fore which, so soone as the King presented his forces; the Citizens rise vp for the King against the Garrison; and let the *Swedens* into the Towne. This was done while the King was yet at the siege of *Wolgast*.

Stolp taken.

Ancklam thus obtained, the King purposing a designe for a voyage into *Mecklenburg*, first causes the passage of *Stolp* to be taken. This Towne is neere vnto *Ancklam*, some five Leagues to the West of *Stetin*, and towards the Sea: by which he had a full passage into *Mecklenburg*. After which he at severall times also takes *Trebbeses*, *Gripnitz*, and *Treptom*, three other chiefe passages, as we shall tell when we speake of the Kings expedition into *Mecklenburg*.

A Fast.

* This *Quint* was set on, to have kild the King.

We are now come to *September*: vpon the first Friday whereof the King commaunds a sollemne Fast to be kept throughout his Army and Leaguer at *Stetin*. Vpon that day the *Imperialists* being led by one * *Quint*, who had before run away from the King, fall vpon the outter Guards of the Kings Camp, and cuts them off; putting the whole Army into danger. But they taking the Alarme, fall out vpon *Quint*, and beate him off with losse and shame enough. The next day also making a bravadoe againe, some thirty more of them are taken prisoners by the *Swedens*. The King a little after this, Musters and payes his Forces newly arrived to him out of *Prussia*, for which he a while stayed, without doing much: and now abroad are they againe going, his Army being very much encreased by these, and thirtie-six troopes of horse newly entertained.

Towards the middle of this *September* he sends abroad 3000. horse and 12000. foote to be doing, and to take in passages: sends also to view the strong places of *Gartz* and *Gripenhagen*: of which more when we come to those Seiges. But here let me insert an vnheard-of Crueltie of the *Imperialists* vpon the Townes of *Pasewalk* and *Vckermund*, some few leagues West of *Stetin*: about mid-*September*, old stile, the *Imperiall* Garrison vnder the Commaund of the cruell Colonel *Gotze*, having plundered and forsaken the Towne, and carried the chiefe men away; on the 4.th of *September* 2. troupes of

of *Swedish* horse being 140. strong, enter the forsaken Towne: fall with the Citizens to repayre and fortifie: 3000. *Imperialists* of the Army by *Gartz* hearing of this, take it againe from them *Sept. 7th.* and after most valiant resistance, beate, kill, and driue out the *Swedish*; fall to torturing of the Townesmen for their money, crying giue vs money or bloud; ravish women and girles, even in the open streets, and Church-yards; yea women in Child-bed: kill and abuse the men, fire the houses and the people in them: thrust strawe into Cellars where Children are hidden, and then set fire to it: burne the Churches; massacre the Ministers, and then maske vp and downe the streets in their Coapes & Surplisses; and at length burne downe the whole Towne, laughing at it, *how finely doth Pasewalk burne?* Thus their rapes and ravages continue till the 11.th or 12.th of *September*: After which they goe to *Vckermundt*, a Towne hard by (from whence these 140. *Swedish* were thought to haue come) this they fall vpon and take: vse as before; keepe the gates shut, and so burne the people in the Towne.

The crueltie
of the *Impe-*
rialists at
Pasewalk,

and at
Vckermundt:

To returne to the King. About this time it seemes had his Majestie taken the oppressions and complaints of the people of *Magdenburg* into his royall consideration; and therefore sends some forces by Sea thither, to joyne with the Duke of *Saxon Lawenburg*, which *Swedish* aydes, *Sept. 25.* land at *Dofson* three leagues from *Lubeck*: of which more when we handle the whole Story of *Magdenburg** together. And about that time himselfe in person goes to *Ribbenitz* in *Mecklenburg*: where his Campe is pitcht *Sept. 28.* of which more when we speake of *Mecklenburg*.

* Namely,
where wee
speake of
Tilly.

About the same time of *September*, is the brave Lieutenant Generall *Bauditz* sent to the siege of *Colbergen*; and the noble Feild-Marshal *Gustavus Horne* commands the standing Army at *Stetin*. Thus hath the King foure Armies at once: and thus are they all imployed. *October 5th.* certaine *Crabats* making a braue before the trenches at *Stetin*, driue away the Cattell thereby feeding. In rescue of them, out sally 1000. *Swedens*: the *Crabats* faine a flight; the *Swedes* too rashly pursuing,

The Swedes
beaten by the
Imperialists.

purſuing, fall into an Ambuſh : there begins a fierce ſkirmiſh ; in which the *Swedes* overlayd by numbers, looſe ſome 300. brave men, two Captaines of horſe, and one Sergeant Major ; the reſt being glad to get off with their lives. The *Swedes* meditating revenge, fall out a while after vpon the *Imperialiſts* Cattell by *Grippenhagen* and *Gartz*, driving away ſome 300. from both places, and come fayrely with them to their quarter. Many the like feates of Armes were daily practiſed betwixt them.

Colbergen be-
ſieged.

And now leaving the other Armies to their buſineſſe in other places, we will turne to the ſiege of *Colbergen* : not be- cauſe it was firſt taken, but firſt beſieged : and becauſe it is a peice of Story by it ſelfe, vpon which no other depends ; no other Towne being in thoſe quarters. This Towne is ſituate on the Sea-coaſt, further from *Straleſandt*, and neerer vnto *Prussia*, then the King had yet conquered. So ſtrong a place, that *Torquati* and the reſt, had made choyce of it, there to lay vp their pillage, and what treaſure they had gotten in the warres. About the 4th. of *September*, was Colonel *Kniphowſen* ſent by the King to try what he could doe vpon it. His troupes being too weake, *Bauditzen* is ſent with 4000. men, and 18. peices of Ordnance. Vpon him the *Crabats* and other *Imperialiſts* ſet amaine : a hote ſkirmiſh there is, and much loſſe on both ſides. *Bauditzen* thereupon receiues two more Regiments from the King : ſo that now he is 5. Regiments of foote, and certaine horſe ſtrong before the Towne ; The Gentlemen of the Country are alſo drawne into the action. The Garrifon within is 11. Companies of foote but very weake ones.

The famous
Onſlaught of
Colbergen.

Torquati Conti not ignorant of this, hath a deſigne about the beginning of *November*, for the relieving of the Towne, and his owne treaſure in it ; hoping eyther vtterly to defeate *Bauditzen* and *Kniphowſen*, that now blockt it vp, or at leaſt to beate vp a Quarter, and ſo to thruſt ſome ſuccours into it. *Gustavus Horne*, then in the Camp at *Stetin*, having notice of it, immediately calls a Councell of Warre. The reſolution is, firſt to ſend *Bauditzen* and *Kniphowſen* word of it : wiſhing
them

them to stand vpon their guard a while, assuring them by such a time to be with them. This done, they draw out halfe of every Regiment, to goe along; every Colonel to command his owne: all being Commanded men, such as had no Colours with them: and for defence of the Camp leaving the other halfe, with all the Lieutenant-Colonells, and Sir *Arthur Leflye* to command all. Word also is sent vnto the *Swedish* Garrisons of *Griffenberg* & *Golnam*, (just in the way) to come and meete them. So that with these, and their fellowes before *Colbergen*, they might make some 8000. foote & 4000. horse. The enemy was also some 9. or 10000. men; and those vpon their march, at least a day or two before *Gustavus Horne* had notice of it: but they going the further way about, through the *March*, and so along behinde *Schiffelbien*, (as farre from the *Swedish* Garrisons as they could, for feare of being discovered,) the *Swedish* were at *Colbergen* before them. There found they their owne men in battell array, and no newes of any *Imperialists* yet. Consulting what to doe, they there resolved to stay in sight of the Towne, to amaze and affray the enemy all that day; and then to take as many out of the Leaguer as might well be spared, and so to march away by night, to meete with the enemy. *Gustavus Horne* commanded the Foote, the Lord *Reay* led the valiant *Scottish-men* of his owne Nation, and *Banditzen* the horse. About midnight comes a Countrey-Boore vnto them, with assurance that the enemy had then taken vp their Quarter in two or three little Dorps, that were hard before them: els might they haue marcht by them, and so the enemy might haue gone on, and defeated those before *Colbergen* first, and perchance those at *Stetin* afterwards. Here the Colonells consult what to doe. All, but *Kniphowsen*, resolve to surprize them as they now lay scattered and devided in these Villages: but *Kniphowsens* advise was to stay till morning. His reasons were, first they knew not the strength and lodging of the enemy: so that if by any error they should be defeated, *Colberg*, and *Stetin*, and all were lost. Againe, it was a very good peice of service, to haue prevented the enemy in his desigine; and if they could

not beate him, it were enough to turne him backe againe. And these reasons prevailed : so that the Army being hard-marcht, fate there downe to refresh themselves. Whilest here they were, eyther the same Boore, or some other, goes and tells the *Imperialists*, that the *Swedish* were hard by them : so that by three a clocke in the morning they might perceiue the enemies Dorps, all on a flame : for they rising to be gone homewards, had now set fire vpon their Quarters. The *Swedish* perceiving this, fall generally to blame *Kniphowsen* ; resolving instantly to pursue them. Comming to the forsaken Dorps, there knocke they downe some sixtie men, that the enemy had left behinde, and so follow on the rest. At breake of day, they had sight of the retyring enemy, vpon a fayre Heath : whereupon the *Swedish* horse making more speede, by eight a clocke were vpon the neckes of them. The enemy making *Alt*, turnes faces about to them : whereupon the *Swedish* horse forbear to charge, till their owne Foote should be come vp to them : who now doubling their march, were hard at hand with them. Thus when the enemy makes a stand, so doe the *Swedish* too ; and when the enemy marches, the other lyes beating vpon their Reere. The *Cra-bats* (or *Imperiall* horse) perceiving themselves likely to be overmatcht with numbers, play the *Pultrons*, and run away. The Foote goe on in this fashion, till they came to a Dorpe, or Village, called *Faldinbruck*, there was a passag: at a water-mill ; over whose bridge they were to goe : and there one of the carriages of their Ordaance breaking, fowly stopt vp their passage. Here being crowded and disordered, the foremost began also to flee. And now fell there so sudden and so strange a mist, that a man could hardly discerne two Pikes length before him. The enemies Foote that could not get over the bridge, betooke themselves into the marish by the Rivers side : standing there vpon their owne defence, with matches Cockt, and Muskets vpon their Reits. The *Swedish* comming vp to them, they demaund Quarter : proffering to serue the King of *Sweden*, vpon condition every Officer to be vnder the King, the same they were vnder the Emperour : otherwise;

otherwise, they would dye like braue men, and sell their liues as deare as they could. Quarter and Conditions are both granted them: so that there still a while they stood. But to see the lucke of it; just in the meane time, returns *Bauditzen*: who having beene pursuing the enemies horse that fled, and now so vtterly rowted them, that scarce ten of them remained in a Company: and lost them in the mist withall: he seeing the enemy stand whole in a body together, and not knowing of the agreement; falls to charge them with his horse. They perceiuing this, began to suspect trechery in it; that the *Swedish* horse should fall vpon their *Reere*, and the Foot vpon their *Van*; & so they should perish betwixt both. To prevent which, they putting themselves into two diuisions, turne backe to backe; those next to *Bauditzen*, all at once giving fayre fire vpon him. That volley made a Fell of many a braue man. *Bauditzen* charges againe, charges home, and thorough them: vtterly breakes and defeats them. The other *Swedish* body of horse hearing the fight, and the mist not suffering them to discerne the matter, imagined verily, that the enemy had beene come backe againe: yea messenger comes vpon messenger with the newes, *Our men are vtterly defeated*. And when as some of the horse that had the *Van* of the *Swedens* Foote, came towards them; they certainly beleeued them to be enemies, and their owne men to be defeated: and thereupon giue fire vpon them. The other, thinke the Devill to be in it; and that their Foote had beene defeated, and these to be enemies: and therefore fly backe againe to their fellowes. Others also comming vpon our *Van*, they fall to charge them: the other as fast letting fly at them againe. Thus having no Colours with vs, wee knew not friends from foes, our enemies, from our fellowes. In this miserable error, and mysticall meddly wee continue, vntill 4. a clocke at night: when by finding some of our owne to be slaine, (whom we well knew) we began to find our mistake. The Emperours whole forces, both foote and horse, were defeated: their Canon, all their baggage and foure Cornets, taken from them, All our owne horse, except *Bauditzens*

A strange confusion & mistake among the *Swedish*.

ditzens owne Regiment, ran away : as also the body of our Foote did, which were led by the yong Grave of *Thurne*, and Colonell *Wallenstein* : onely the *Van* of the *Swedish* Foote stood firme ; Commanded by Baron *Teuffell*, the Lord *Reay*, and Sir *John Haibron*. So that both the Armies had run away in the mist ; except *Bauditzen* and his Regiment of horse, and the *Van* of Foote aforesaid. These stayed after the fight, to bury their flaine fellowes. This prettie kinde of battell hapned vpon the 11.th of *November*, 1630. In which, what with those that were flaine by the enemy, and what they had killed themselues ; were 500. men lost. The rest, partly laughing at their owne mistake, partly sorry for their fellowes and *Comrades* ; and partly glad to haue defeated the enemy ; they returne homewards againe : *Bauditzen* and *Kniphowsen* vnto their siege ; and the other vnto their Leaguer.

Presently after this, in the middle of the same *November*, werethere 182. houses burnt within the Citie : the fault was layd vpon the negligence of a servant : though others suspected it to be a villany of the besieged : Sure it is, that there were Letters intercepted by the *Swedish*, which should haue perswaded the Garrison, that seeing they could not be relieved, the best way were to fire the Towne, and by a resolute sally to breake through the enemy. This is like vnto the *Imperialists* practises in other places : who at *Gartz* and *Gripenhagen* about the same time, made stay of all the Boats that came vp the *Oder*, having a designe to fire *Stargard* with them ; by that meanes to haue delivered *Colbergen*. The same they threatned vnto *Stetin* also : which made those Townes stand vpon their guard the surer. Towards the end of *November*, the *Swedes* cut off the fresh water that serv'd the Citie. In the beginning of *December*, the besieged vpon an advantage sallying out, surprize a Lieutenant, with some thirtie of their enemies ; and the *Swedish* within a while after, cut off a Convoy of 180 Wagons laden with Corne and other provisions, which was going into the Citie : an hundred of which they bring away ; the rest which they had not time nor meanes to doe, they set fire on. In *February* when the King was gone towards *Mecklenburg*,

Lenburg, the Garrison making abroad, fetch in 500. head of Cattell one with another. Thus past there encounters too and againe betwixt them, till the end of *February*: the 26. whereof, they now finding their provisions to fayle within, & their hopes without; send to parlie with the *Swedish* Generall, who acquaints the King with it. His Majestie condescends, to let them come out with Colours flying, matches light, full Armes, bag and baggage, and two peices of Ordnance. They were in all 1500. men; whereof 9. Companies of foote, and two of horse: all which were by the *Swedish* conueyed to *Schiffelben*: whence they were to march vnto *Landtsbergen*. Thus that strong Towne which had been three yeares in fortifying, (the Country-people for ten or twelue miles compasse, having beene enforced to labour at it,) is now after five moneths siege vpon the second of *March* (old stile) taken in by the King: who found in it, 51. peices of Ordnance of a greater bore, and 19. smaller Feild-peices: 224. barrells of powder, with proportionable Ammunition. The day after the yeelding, a shippe comming with men and victualls for their reliefe, not knowing of it, falls into the hands of the *Swedes*.

Colbergen yeeld-
ded vp.

A report was also spread abroad in the Country, that before their giving vp of the Towne, they had digd mines, and layd gun-powder and burning matches by it; which after two or three dayes should take fire, and blow vp the Towne; which the *Swedes* in good time discovering, sent after them in all hast, to call them backe to an account for their base trechery. But this we cannot affirm. True it is, that they were sent for backe, and stayd at *Friberg* in the *New-Marke*: but this was by reason of *Tillyes* crueltie, at his taking of *New Brandenburg* at this very time, where he put all to the sword.

The day before *Colberg* was taken; was there a League concluded betwixt the Kings of *France* and *Sweden*: in these termes.

A new league
betwixt the
Kings of
France and
Sweden.

1. That it be for the defence of either of their Friends respectiuelly, for the securing of the *Ocean* and *Ballick* Seas, and the freedome of Commerce in them: as also for the restoring
K of

* The *Grisons*
Country.

of the oppressed States and Princes of the *Romane* Empire : and that the Forts newly erected vpon the Ports or Coasts of eyther Sea, or in * *Rhetia* ; be demolished ; and all reduced to the estate they were in, before the *Germane* warre.

2. That because the Adverse partie hath had no minde hitherto, to repayre offered injuries ; and hath rejected all intercessions ; therefore is there no remedie, but to vindicate their safetie by strong hand : for effecting whereof, the King of *Sweden* is at his owne charges to maintaine 30000. foote and 6000. horse in *Germany*. And the King of *France* to pay his yearely share in Rixe Dollars : whereof the one halfe, *May 15.* and the other, *November 15.* eyther at *Paris* or *Amsterdam*, as the King of *Sweden* shall thinke fit, who is to appoint his owne Receivers.

3. The levying of Souldiers or Mariners, the passages of shipping and ammunition, shall be in eyther of their Dominions free for either partie, and be denied to the enemy. Offenders against military discipline, and such as runne away from their Colours, to be left to their owne Princes to be punished.

4. If it pleases God to giue the King of *Sweden* good successe, he shall not deale otherwise in poynt of Religion to those places that he shall conquer, or haue yeelded vnto him ; then the Lawes and Constitutions of the Empire appoynt : and the *Romane* religion shall still be left free, where it is now practised.

5. Into this League, may any other States or Princes, eyther within *Germany* or without, be admitted, that desire it : but let due care be had, that whosoever be so admitted, may neither privily nor openly, favour the adverse partie, vnder their owne name, or pretence of others ; or offer wrong vnto the foresaid Kings, or the common cause : but let each of them rather contribute vnto this warre so much as they are able, or concerne their interest : Which is to be determined vpon by a particular Treatie.

6. With the Duke of *Bavaria* and the *Catholike* Leaguers, in the *Romane* Empire, let termes of amitie, or neutralitie at least, be observed : if so be, they doe the like againe.

7. And

7. And if by Gods grace any occasion of Treatie offers it selfe; let it be by the common Counsells of the *Leaguers*: nor let any of these conclude a peace without the other.

8. This League to endure for five yeares to come: that is, from the day of the date hereof, vnto the first of *March*, old stile, in the yeare 1636. to come. Within which terme vnlesse a secure peace may be obtained; vpon a generall Treaty of the *Confederates*, let this League be further againe prolonged.

It is moreover agreed; that because the last yeare this League had beene begun to be treated vpon, to continue for six yeares; and that the King of *Sweden* had in the meane time beene at the sole charges of the warre: therefore in regard of the yeare passed, the King of *France* vpon the day of Signing these Articles, is to giue him Bills of Exchange for 300000. pounds *Turon*, which amount vnto 120000 Rixe Dollars; which summe is not to be reckoned in, vnto the payments to be made in the next five yeares.

Of this League the King of *Sweden* giues present notice vnto the *Protestant* Princes now at the Dyet of *Leipsich*; assuring them that his intentions were no other, but to defend and restore, the *Germane* Princes, and their Liberties, &c.

All the backe of *Pomeran* being thus cleered by the taking of *Colberg*, turne we backe now againe, to what was in the meane time done in other places. The King (who would see to the doing of all) leaving his Army in *Mecklenburg*, was now come backe into *Pomeran*; and now casts his eye vpon *Grippenhagen*. This Towne scituate vpon the North banke of the *Oder* some three Leagues from *Stetin*, is naturally a very strong place. A peice of much importance withall, by reason of the bridge which it hath over the *Oder*, by which there is easie passage eyther to offend or relieve, the Land of *Marck* on the East side, and *Pomeran* and *Brandenburg* on the West. In it lay an *Imperiall* Garrison of some 3000. men: and *Don Capua* a *Spaniard* their Governour. In *July* 1630. therefore, the King taking some five Regiments of foote, and one of horse along with him, and sending his Ammunition vp the

The siege of
Grippenhagen.

**The King in
danger.**

**The Townes
of Germany
haue vsually
neere without
their walles a
goodly payre
of stone Gal-
lowes, vpon
a little hill,
which is for a
heading place;
which is often
times low wal-
led or fenced
in.**

**The siege of
Gartz.**

Oder, goes to looke vpon the place, as those of *Stetin* had requested him. Being desirous one day to satisfie himselfe in viewing of a passage, with 24. horse onely in his attendance; he falls into an Ambush of 60. horse: where valiantly defending himselfe a while; he is very timely fetcht off by foure troopes of his owne horse, which came in vpon the spurre, so soone as they heard the Pistols goe off. The place he findes not onely hot, but heauie: not so easie to be carried: and especially forthat the *Imperiall* Army then lay at *Gartz*, some few miles aboue it on the other side of the *Oder*. Therefore giues he it over for that time. After his coming from *Mecklenburg* now, his Majestie *December 23.* (old stile) with 12. Regiments of foote and 85. troopes of horse, in person drawes downe toward the Towne, about the Evening shewing himselfe in battell array before it. The advantage of the ensuing night, he takes for the planting of his Ordnance; whereof he had brought 80. peices along with him: of which, 32. being Demy-Canons, he mounts 10. of them vpon the place of execution; Having given order the day before for prayers and Sermons throughout the Camp; on Christmas Eve by fife a clocke in the morning, he begins a most furious battery: 10. 15. or 20. peices of Canon continually going off together. A fayre and large breach being made, the *Swedes* twice attempt to enter, and are twice most valiantly repulsed. But 2500. men (for no more are now left) being vnable to hold out against 20000. the Towne is at the third assault taken. The Governour received a shot in his thigh, whereof in prison at *Stetin* he afterwards dyed. With him is the Sergeant Major *Antonio* also taken: many chiefe Commanders, and 100. common Souldiers, 200. were flaine; some fled; the rest flinging away their Armes, craved Quarter, and had it. The King had but six men flaine out right, though many wounded: for which he tooke eight peices of Ordnance in the Towne.

At *Gartz* (before described) another strong Towne, with a bridge also over the *Oder*, had the *Imperiall* Army ever since their removing from *Ancklam*, layne. To dare *Torquatis*
Conts

Conti their Generall into the feild; the King with some ten thousand foote and twenty-foure troupes of horse, presents himselfe before his Trenches about mid-August 1630. He not disposed to come out, nor the King to assault him in his Quarters, returns home againe. In his returne he lights vpon *Walensteyns* Sonne, (the Emperours great Generall) drawne in a Coach and six horses; guarded with an indifferent Convoy. Whom the Kings horse forth with charging, take 120. prisoners, and some 35. horses. The yong Gentleman quitting his Coach, escapes away on horsebacke. The plague much raging in Summer time about the Army at *Gartz*, *Torquatus* sends the diseased into other Quarters, enterteyning 2000. *Crabats* in their places. About mid-September there fell out a most bloody fight: wherein those of *Gartz* were sayd to loose more then 1000. men; and yet I report but the third part. They about the same time, beate a Convoy of the *Swedes* also; and bring away 100. horses into their Campe. In the beginning of *December*, some are sent thence into *Mecklenburg*: at other times some others are sent to lye in Garrison in the Townes of the Land of *Marck*, beyond *Grippenhagen*. Others had beene sent to the reliefe of *Colbergen*: some slaine; and very many dyed of the plague. And thus had this Army beene impayred. *Grippenhagen* therefore being now taken, and settled: within a day or two after *Christmas* day, the King sends his whole Army to the strong Sconce of *Morewitz*, which served for the guard of the bridge: fully beleeving, that rather then the *Imperialists* would loose so important a peice, they would bid him battell. But the Count of *Schamberg* (who now commanded the Army in stead of *Torquato*, that had lately given vp his Charge) notwithstanding he were some 15000. strong; perceiving his Army to be ill disciplin'd, vsed rather to plunder, then fight; durst not hazard the encounter: but calling the Garrison out of the Towne, he sets fire to the Ammunition, drownes such powder and Ordnance, as he could not draw away; and so without one shot making, very confusdly marches off; leaving the emptie Towne vnto the King; himselfe with all speede halting,

The Imperialists beaten.

The Swedes beaten.

Gartz forsaken by the Imperialists.

hasting, to get through *Custrine*, into *Landsbergen*, a very strong place in the way towards *Silesia*. The King followes him with as much speed, as the other fled, still beating vpon his Reere. The *Saxonish*, *Gotish*, and *Swertzenballish* Regiments he so vtterly disperfed, that they were fayne to leaue their baggage behinde them: They that name least, tell vs of 300. Wagons with their burdens; besides 14. Ensignes. Colonell *Sparre* with some few Wagons of his owne baggage, saved himselfe in *Custrine*: Some others gat through into *Landsberg*, and others recovered *Franckford* vpon *Oder*: about which last place, they after rallied their forces together againe. This was certainly a notable defeate; yea so notable, that had the King then had *Custrine* in his hands (which he had before desired of the Elector of *Brandenburg*) the enemy had gotten no passage over the *Oder* at all; eyther into *Franckford* or *Landsbergen*: yea he had gotten them in fayre *Campagna* among his owne garrisons, had still followed beating vpon their Reere; yea being once in rowt, eyther they could never haue made head againe, or if they had, he had instantly beene vpon the powles of them; and so haue vtterly defeated the *Imperiall* Army. Then had *Pomeran* been quite cleered, *Franckford* & *Landsbergen* taken at one blow. *Silesia* also had beene left naked: yea and *Tilly* being not yet come vp, *Magdenburg* had beene saved, and all *Mecklenburg* besieged by the Kings Armies. But all this fayled, for want of *Custrine*.

Coninxberg taken.

The King returning from the Chase, even while the feare and dread of his Armes, and the loue of his justice, were vpon all the Countrey: goes in person towards *Coninxberg*, a Towne on the East-side of the *Oder*, not faire from *Custrine*. Here had he not much to doe; for that the Townesmen voluntarily brought their keyes, and layd them downe at his Majesties feete. Thence in person goes he towards *Lubus*, a Fort within a Dutch mile of *Franckford*, almost betwixt it and *Custrine*: and there he pitches his Campe about the 8. th of *January*, old stile. About the same time goes Colonell *Leflye* towards *Locknitz*, a Castle in the very Frontiers of *Pomeran*,

Locknitz taken.

meren,

meren, belonging vnto *Schulenburg*, and kept by an hundred Imperialists: vpon which place Sir *Arthur Lestye* comming by night, so thunders with his Ordnance vpon them, that having beaten downe the gates, he falls to enter: killing some twentie of those that made resistance, and taking some 80. prisoners. The Castle was by the King freely given vnto the Colonell, that thus tooke it in. At the selfe same time, falls *Bauditz* vpon the Garrison of *Piritz*, a Towne betwixt *Piritz* taken. *Grippenhagen* & *Coninxberg*: in which were some 1400. men: these he defeates, and so is that Towne taken.

But the chiefe designe, was at the strongest place, *Landtsberg* by name; whither *Gustavus Horne* was sent; the King hoping at this same one voyage, to haue taken in that also. But this designe was for that time put by, as we shall hereafter shew, when we come to speake of that siege. Yet doth not *Gustavus Horne* loose all his labour: for hearing in his returne, of five troopes of *Crabats*, which vsed with strong parties to make fallies and cavalcadoes, and plundering voyages out vpon the Country, from out of *Himmelstadt* (a town some League or two to the Northward:) some of these he cuts short; and others of their Nation in other places, about this *Landtsberg*. A designe vpon *Landtsberg* defeated.

Thus having in eight dayes space (which is admirable) taken in so many Cities, defeated so many enemies; gotten many a great prisoner, and now cleared *Pomeran* and *Marckland*, even from *Prussia* side, all betweene the Rivers of *Warta* and *Oder* (except *Landtsberg*;) he calls his Army together againe, sitting downe with it at *Coninxberg* aforesaid, (whither he brought 70. peices of Ordnance) where he stayed vntill he had increased it with some new levies, made for him in the *New Marck*; and had begunne to raise some Sconces for the securing of the Country. Of these Sconces, one was hard by *Custrine*, and another neerer vnto *Silesia*; for the guarding of which workes, and the blocking vp of *Himmelstadt* and *Landtsberg* withall; he at his going away, leaues 9000. men in *Brandenburg-land*. Whilest this is a doing, the King in person goes towards *Custrine* (the chiefe Towne, and

Tillyes com-
ming,

and the strongest of all *Brandenburg*:) demaunding to haue that Towne consign'd over into his protection, that he might put a Garrison into it, and so keepe the enemy from returning over the *Oder*. This request, notwithstanding it were by the *Electör* denyed, (not daring to doe it as yet, the *Imperialists* being not onely in that Towne, but in his whole Country beside, and the Governour *Krachten* dissuading it mainly) yet thus much courage the *Electör* after that tooke vnto himselfe; that he presently set out a Proclamation against the sharking and stroy-good *Imperialists*: commaunding his Subjects, by strong hand to restraine their insolencies; and to let none ramble vp and downe the Country, but such as had lawfull Passes. Now had the King an Army of some 18. Regiments of Foote, and 86. Cornets of Horse: and now by mid-*January* was Generall *Tilly* come vp to *Franckford*, there to succour and take on those troupes, which the King had before scattered: which (as we sayd) began now to gather head againe about this *Franckford*. Of his comming the King now hearing, sends *Gustavus Horne* with a reasonable Army towards the Frontiers of *Silesia* to staue off *Tilly* from comming downe that way, vnto any of the new conquered places: himselfe instantly marching into the Land of *Mecklenburg*. The whole story of which, and his Majesties proceedings in that Country; we will now present you with altogether; beginning with his former expedition thither.

This Country of *Mecklenburg* lyes Westward of *Pomerland*, along the coast betwixt *Brandenburg* and the Sea. Two Dukedomes it hath, *Schwerin* and *Gustrow*; lately possessed by two brothers, *John Albert* the elder brother, and *Adolph Frederike* the younger: both the right heires, and both stiled Dukes of *Mecklenburg*. These Princes had the Emperour of late, very injuriously devested of their Estates, and given them vnto *Walenstejn* his great Generall, with the Title of Duke of *Mecklenburg*. The disseized Dukes, complaine vnto their Cosin the King of *Sweden*; their reliefe was another
mayne

mayne cause of his comming in *Germany*. His Majesty therefore having made so victorious an entrance into *Pomeran*, and cleared all those parts vpon the confines of *Pomerland*, (except *Gripswald*) next vnto *Mecklenburg*: resolves vpon an expedition thither in person. About *August 6. 1630.* he prepares his owne way by taking the passage of *Stolp*, neere *Ancklam*, some five leagues below *Stetin* towards the Sea, whereby he hath a full passage into *Mecklenburg*. Towards the end of *September*, his Majesty makes stay of all great boats and ships vpon the *Oder*, and the mouth of it: wherein having shipt some 12000 men and their Ammunition; he sayles by *Wolgast* (taken some moneth before) and *Stralesundt*; passing vnto *Bart*, a Towne in *Mecklenburg*, standing vpon an arme of the Sea, a little within the shoare. That takes he in first. Then hasts he to *Damgarden* the next Towne on the East side of that arme of the Sea: which Towne & the Sconce to it, he presently takes in by assault: many of the Souldiers being flung out at the windowes, and some others by mischance burnt. Three dayes after this, to *Rubenitz* he comes: a Towne in the very bottome of that Indraught or arme of the Sea: and that he by force takes also. *Mescord* the Governour is taken prisoner, and his Lieutenant *Iers*, slaine with a Musket shot. Here pitches he his Camp; giving order for the fortifying of this, and *Damgarden* and *Trubbesees*, another late taken passage towards *Pomeran*. Being here settled; he first of all by a Proclamation dated from *Rubenitz* *Sept. 28.* summons the Gentry and people of the Country, to remember their oath once taken to their naturall Princes: to forsake *Walensteyns* title and service: to come armed into his Camp, or other his troupes; to prosecute and kill all the *Walsteyners*: and to fight with him for the libertie of their Countrey. Those which doe not, he threatens to pursue as traytors and enemies: those which did, to afford his royall protection vnto. A second mandate he then sends to the Towne of *Rostock*: of which more, when we come to speake of that City. Sir *Iohn Bannier*, (his Majesties Lieutenant for those parts) being about that time also vpon the frontiers of *Mecklenburg*

The Kings
first expediti-
on into *Meck-*
lenburg.

He takes
Bart,
Damgarden,
&
Rubenitz.

He summons
the Country.

towards *Pomeran*; directs his Letters vnto these borderers, to this purpose. That seeing the *Imperialists* thereabouts did nothing but pillage and plunder them of their Cattell and goods; and that the King his Maisters intention was, onely to defend them: therefore they should send their Corne and Cattle towards *Rubenitz* or *Stralesundt*. Which if they refused, the King would thinke those pillages wilfully endured by them to relieue his enemies, and that they meant to fall away from their owne Princes: and must therefore take their goods where ever he found them, persecuting them as traitors and enemies.

The Empe-
rours Letters
vnto him.

The Kings
answere.

Whilest here at *Rubenitz* the King lyes encamped, and his forces in the meane time busie about the Country: there arriues an Imperiall Curryer in his Camp. His Letters contained an admiration of the Emperours, why the King should come armed into the Empire: offering him a treatie of peace, if so be he would first lay downe Armes. These seeme written from *Ratisbone*. To this he answers; That his Imperiall Majestie would cease to wonder, if he pleased to remember the two Armies sent against him into *Prussia*; the wronging of his Friends; and the endangering of his owne *Sweden*. As for the offer of peace, he desires pardon if he thinkes it not sincerely meant; seeing it had beene before scorned: and that now the Emperour while he spake of peace, did still continue his Levies. As for laying downe of Armes, he vtterly refuses that; or to trust any more vnto verball promises: and for treatie of peace, he would be most glad to entertaine it: which vpon these termes he will agree vnto; namely, That all *Germany* be so settled and re-estated, as it was before the beginning of these warres. This was written after the Kings returne to *Stralesundt*, the same moneth of *October*, in which it was received. The Emperour perceiving that words and papers would not beate *Swedens* sword out of his hand, at the breaking vp of the Dyet of *Ratisbone*, in the beginning of *November*, sets out his Imperiall mandate, for the continuing of the warres; and against the King of *Sweden* by name; procuring the *Electors* also to decree the same: and to agree

agree to ayde him in it. And by this time was the King come from *Stralesundt* againe, vnto his Army at *Rubenitz*; where he for a while held the head quarter of his Camp: the rest of the Army, being partly nearer advanc't vnto *Rostock*, and part employed with *Bannier* in other places. And now (it seemes) some of his, *having beene as farre as *Lubeck* (one of the *Hanse Townes* vpon the Frontiers of *Mecklenburg* and *Holsatia*) and there imprisoned and vncourteously vsed: the King writes his Letters vnto the Towne, to this purpose: That seeing such discourtesie had beene offered, he could not but admonish them to forbear: as they would looke for the like vsage, where he had to doe. And now had not the King an Army alone hereabouts, but a navy too vpon those coasts; to confront the Imperiall Navy gathered amongst the *Hanse Townes* thereabouts. For in the beginning of *December*, I finde a Sea-fight betwixt *Gabriel de Roy*, the Emperours Admirall with 15. shippes, and 9. Swedish men of warre, neere vnto *Wisnar* (another *Hanse Towne* betwixt *Rostock* and *Lubeck*;) in which the sayd Imperiall Admirall shippe was foure times shot through, forced to saue himselfe in *Wisnar*, and to leaue three of his Ships vnto the Swedish.

*These, I suppose, were some of those forces, which the King had sent towards *Magdenburg*: & which had landed at *Dessau*, within a league or two of *Lubeck*, about *Sept. 25.*

A Sea-fight.

Turne we now vnto *Rostock*. This *Hanse Towne*, scituate in *Mecklenburg*, vpon the River *Warnow*. West of *Rubenitz*; and some few miles from the Sea; had till now beene freed from Imperiall Garrisons: but vpon the Kings comming to *Bart*, was surpris'd by this devise following. A thousand Imperiall Horse send some before them to demanda passage through the Towne; pretending to goe against the King of *Sweden*: being beleev'd and admitted, they keepe possession of the gates, let in their fellowes; breake the lockes off the posts, which fastned the chaines drawne crosse the streets: and so finally possesse themselves of the Market place. This done, they compell the Citizens to bring all their Armes into the *Statehouse*, making them sweare they had no more: then they billet themselves vpon the Citizens, and keepe such a racket, that the Townesmen dare hardly open their dores, for feare of being pillaged. The King at his comming to *Ru-*

The siege of *Rostock*.

1000 Imperiall horse get into it.

The Kings
Letters to
those of Ro-
stock.

benitz hearing of this Garrison, writes thus vnto the Townesmen. That seeing by his coming into the Country, there had beene a doore opened for their freedome; they should now remember the Oath sometimes taken to their Duke, cast out the Garrison, and restore their Citie to her ancient freedome. Which if they did, he would take it for an argument of their innocency; become their friend, and inlarge their Cities priuiledges. If they neglected it, he must like enemies pursue them, both by Sea and Land.

He blocks vp
the Towne.

The Towne eyther not willing, or perchance not able to doe this, the King beginnes to make some approaches vnto it; to blocke vp the passages, to build Sconces and Redoubts: yea and causes his Fleet to hover vp and downe their coasts.

4000. Imperi-
alists defea-
ted.

This was in the beginning of *October*. These proceedings the *Walsteyners* in other Garrisons hearing of, send out a strong Convoy of 4000. men, to open the passages againe, and to thrust some men and victuals into the Citie. These the *Swedish* grappling withall, shrewdly defeated, and kill the most of them; vtterly frustrating their designe. In the beginning of

&
7: Cornets of
horse.

November, he approaches within two *English* miles, or lesse, of the very Citie; still raising Sconces and Retrenchments against them. About the beginning of *December*, some seven Cornets of *Imperiall* horse issue out of the Towne on the cleerer side, to goe a boote-haling: these the *Swedish* having by their espyalls notice of, pursue. In the Skirmish, are 200. *Imperialists* slaine vpon the place: 280. taken prisoners; and some 400. horse brought away: scarcely 20. sound men, recovering into the Towne againe: a pitifull boothaling for them. In this fight, a certaine *Swedish* Colonell of *Finland*, for tryall of his valour, did twice charge quite through the *Imperiall* troupes; in his returne the second time, by maine strength taking a Captaine out of his saddle, and bringing him away vnder his arme. About the middle of *Ianuary*, is *Hatzfeldt*, Governour of the Towne, in his owne lodging murthered by one *Warmier*, a Lawyer. And in this state wee leaue the Citie still besieged by the King, though not with a great, yet with a well ordered Army: himselfe being (as we before told you)

you) in person long before gone backe, to see to other things in *Pomeran*.

Thus continues *Rostock* blockt vp both by Sea and Land, rather then besieged; vntill after the Reinstallment of their Lords the Dukes of *Mecklenburg* againe, and the taking of *Gripswald* in *Pomeran* in mid-June following. After which time, the Swedish Generall *Toodt* being at good leifure, is commaunded by the King to conjoyne 10000. foote & horse, of those forces which had taken *Gripswald*, with 5000. of the two Dukes of *Mecklenburg*; and more strongly to pursue the siege of *Rostock*: and to beginne to blocke vp *Wismar* also. Again; the Queene of *Sweden* a little after this arriving with 8000. new men at *Wolgast*; 5000. more are sent into *Mecklenburg*; as speedily as might be, to rid out all the *Imperialists*. The *Imperiall* Garrisons in *Butzon* and *Gustrow* hearing of the comming of these last 5000. conjoyne their faces in one body, resolving to try their fortunes vpon them, and to giue them their wellcome into the Countrey. But *Doodt* and *Mecklenburg* provided better for them: commaunding all the horse they could spare, to convoy in their 5000. friends; and then together, to set vpon their enemies. They did so; surprised, defeated, and flew the most of them: having the chase of them, even vnto their owne Frontiers: and had the Swedish had but 1000. Muskettiers more with them, they had (as 'tis verily thought) at the same instant taken *Rostock* also. The Swedish Army being thus re-enforced, and the enemies weakned; they become bold to divide their Armyes vpon it: Duke *Iohn* of *Mecklenburg* with 8000. men continuing the siege of *Rostock*; and *Doodt* with Duke *Adolph* of *Mecklenburg* going to besiege *Wismar*, with the rest of the Army; which might be as many more. And thus I finde them still both lying August 25. About the end of which moneth, Duke *Iohn* so well plyed his busines, that he tooke the strong Fort or Blockhouse of *Warnemund*; so called of the River *Warnow*, which is the Haven to the Towne of *Rostock*; the Fort standing on the West side, and neere vnto the necke of that River, which next vnto the Sea is so narrow, that this

Fermund causes all the mills to be burnt, the Shallops to be sunke in the *Warnow*, to keepe out the Swedish Ships; makes his *Crabats* ride vp and downe the streets, to prevent the practices of the Townesmen.

Wismar besieged.

The Kings second expedition into *Mecklenburg*.

His Letters to those of the *New Marcke*.

Fort hath the command of all the Ships that come into it. This Fort taken, the Garrison presently tooke pay vnder the Duke. By mid-*September*, had the Duke made his approaches, even vnder the very walles and Canon of the Towne of *Rostock*: *Tilly* in vaine attempting the reliefe of the Citie, either with men or victuals. Now was the Garrison in the Towne wasted away to 1500 men: and the Citizens weary of a siege, and fearing to loose all, if the Towne should be taken by assault: beganne not onely to wish well, but to speake well, in favour of the King, and their Lord the Duke. Thus much the new Governour *Fermund* observing in them; begins to take notice of their carriages: and to put both the Duke and them, out of all hope of fayre compounding vpon treatie, or any yeelding; he causes a fayre Streamer to be hang'd out vpon the turrets of the Towne: to shew, that he would hold out as long as he had any thing that was red in him.

This *Wismar* is another of the *Hanse* Townes; and in the same Dutchy of *Mecklenburg* also. Distant some leaven or eight leagues to the West of *Rostock*: and almost so scituate, but the haven much larger. Here did Duke *Adolph* and the Generall *Toadt* entrench themselves by land; the Swedish fleet waiting vpon it by Sea, as it did vpon *Rostock* also. Of this siege I can adde, but this vnto the former Sea-fight, That about the beginning of *August* the Swedish Shallops boldly going into the haven, brought away the Admirall and another Ship, brauely towing them both away with them.

Tilly about the 24. of *January* being now advanced as neere the King as *Franckford* on the *Oder*: his Majestie fearing if he marcht vp into *Mecklenburg*, he might there make fowle worke; leaues *Gustavus Horne* with the Army about *Coninxberg*; and writes his Letters vnto those of the *New Marcke*, on the East side of the *Oder*; to this purpose: That seeing he haddow cleered their whole Country from their oppressors the *Imperialists*; every man should a Gods name returne to his owne house, trade, and husbandry: he professing to be their friend, and promising to be their protector. That which he desired

desired of them was ; such provisions for his Army left amongst them, as they could well spare, and the other wanted. Those that did not, he would take for his, and their Countries enemies. Vpon which gracious *Monitory*, divers return'd againe, without molestation falling vnto their businesse. This done, the King calls off the most of his Army from the siege of *Landsberg*, and his troupes from other places ; appoynting their *Rendezvous* to be at *Dam*, the 28. of *January*, *Stilo novo* : and so *Feb. 4.* he againe passes *Stetin* towards *Mecklenburg* : where with an Army of 16000. horse and foote, he vnlookt for arrived. There he first of all takes in *New Brandenburg*, within 8. leagues of *Stetin* : Cononel *Marezan* the Governour taking composition, and marching with six Companies of foote, and three of horse, of *Monte-Cuculi* his Regiment ; and 120. of Colonell *Putlars* Regiment. There did the King leaue Colonell *Kniphowsen* for his Governour. To this Towne *Feb. 6.* he summons the people of the Country of *Stargard* : with whom he treates, concerning the maintayning of the forces left for their guard. The newes of this being brought, to those of *Treptow*, another good Towne and a passage thereby ; away run the *Imperiall* Garrison : of which his Majestie having speedy notice, he the same day sends some troupes thither, and takes it. Those of *Dammin* (a very strong Towne) fearing to be taken vn-furnished, with all speede send to *Gripswald*, nere *Stralesundt*, for more Ordnance : but neyther this, nor their so strong fortifications will serue their turne. For *Feb. 14.* the King sets downe to the siege ; after a hideous battery, is the Castle first of all taken by assault, and the Garrison put to the sword ; of whom there were seaven Companies, as 'tis sayd ; besides 150. others, that had newly joyned with them. Finding the Citie too strong to take by assault ; the 15. th day, he thunders vpon that againe, beates downe the workes, and makes so vast a breach in the very hard wall's ; that the Governour, the Duke *de Savelli*, an *Italian*, finding the place not to be tenable against such thunder and resolutions ; parlyes and yeelds. Vpon the surrender, he receiues the King vnder the gate ;

Takes New
Brandenburg.

Treptow the
same day.

The strong
Towne of
Dammin as-
saulted.

Taken.

gate; and the King carries him backe towards the Market-place: Here the King sitting armed vpon his horse, makes a speech vnto the Townesmen; assuring them of all favour: and turning to the Duke, wills him to depart the Towne, to salute the Emperour from him; and to tell him, That he was no enemy vnto his person: and that his endeavour should onely be, to restore the libertie of Religion, and of the Princes. Thus with six Ensignes flying, bag and baggage, and two peices of Ordnance, the Duke marches out of the Towne; leaving 36. peices of brasle Ordnance behinde him; 60 barrells of powder, with victualls and Ammunition proportionable. The King lost about 200. men; himselfe (as some say) receiving a light shot. Letters were intercepted from the Generally *Tilly*, desiring the Governour to hold out but foure dayes longer; at which time he should vndoubtedly be relieved. Some say, that *Savelli* was afterwards questioned vpon his life; for that being over-confident of his owne strength, he had refused to take in some more forces that came to offer their service. This Towne, much stronger then *Rostock*, is now by new fortifications doubly strengthened.

Whilest the King himselfe is here busied; his Lieutenant *Banier* goes to *Loczin* (hard by *Dammin*) and takes in that. And *Malchin* another good Towne is by a stratagem surprised also. *Freidlandt* is likewise so served; and all the other strong places, vpon the Frontiers of *Pomerland*: and so is *Westrow* by the Sea-side. Yea all the strongest places, to conclude, in that Dutchy, except the foure strong great Townes of *Wismar*, *Rostock*, *Butrow*, and *Dammitz*: which last, is an exceeding strong Towne vpon the River *Elve*. Thus betwixt *Iuly* the first, and *February* the last, (that is in eight moneths space) hath he (which is scarce credible to report) taken full 80. Cities, Castles, and Sconces in *Pomerland* and in *Mecklenburg*.

Tilly marches
into *Meck-*
lenburg.

By the end of *February*, hath *Tilly* heard of the Kings proceedings in *Mecklenburg*: and from *Franckford* on the *Oder*, begins to set forward into that Dutchy against him. The King now after the taking of *Dammin*, sets downe with his Army

Army betwixt it and *Treptow*: himfelfe in perfon one of the laft dayes of *February*, going through *Pomerland*, vnto *Berwalt* neere *Coninxberg*: where the firft of *March* he concludes the League with *France*, as is aforefaid. Within a day or two, that is, *March* the third, was *Colbergen* taken, as hath beene fayd. The next day, the King goes from *Stetin* towards *New Angermund*, on the fame fide of the *Oder* with *Mecklenburg*. By this time are fome forces come to him out of *Scotland*: and there being no more neede of any Garrifons in the Ile of *Rugen*, thofe he calls out. Thus drawes he all that might well be fpared out of all his other Garrifons of *Pomerland*, taking to him the 9000. which before were in *Brandenburg*, & thofe that lately befieged *Colbergen*: the States and Gentry of *Pomerland*, he now commaunds, at their owne charge, to levie 10000. men for their owne defence: which forces, fhould take oath to himfelfe, the Duke, and States of *Pomeran*. And now hath he 13. Regiments newly come to him out of *Pruffia* alfo. Thus makes he himfelfe as ftrong againft *Tilly* as poffible may be; bringing his Army from *Coninxbergen*, over the *Oder*, and forming an Army of fome 15000. men, betwixt this *New Angermund* & *Frejenwald*, at a little Dorpe called *Swedt*. Hither he brings fome 60. peices of Ordnance: hither alfo brings he his Ship-bridge from *Stetin*; which here he layes over the *Oder*; over which he hath a free paffage, both towards *Franckford*, *Landtsbergen*, and *Mecklenburg*; and a Retreat too, if neede were. This Leaguer he fortifies with all art & ftrength poffible: that if Generall *Tilly* fhould adventure to fall on, he fhould come vpon the pikes. Another Army he at the fame time hath, (and that very ftrongly fortified alfo) betwixt *Treptow* and *Damm* aforefaid: and fome forces at the fame time likewise, at the fiege of *Gripf-wald*, a Towne hard by: which might, vpon occafion, eafily conjoyne themfelues with the ftanding Army.

At this prefent is Monfieur *Tilly* vpon his march thitherward, with an Army of fome 22000. men, and 26. peices of Ordnance. From *Franckford*, comes he firft to *Rapin*, paffing in his march, not farre from the Kings Leaguer: leaving it not

M.

about

The Leaguer
of Swedt.

aboue a league ortwo, vpon his right hand. If some make doubt, why being so neere he set not vpon the King ; the question is easily answered ; for that the Kings Camp was so strong, that he durst not. Secondly, *Tillyes* designe was, rather to haue drawne the King out into the field, to a pitch battell (for so was it given out) then with so much hazard to assault him in his trenches. The more therefore to provoke the King, he falls vpon some of his Garrisons, even midway betwixt the Kings two Armies. *Tilly* therefore having some few dayes expected the King at *Rapin*; riles and marches forwards. And to tempt out the Kings forces by the way, is Colonell *Bernstejn* (a forward Gentleman and a valiant, but vnfortunate, who was afterwards met withall) sent out with 500. horse, to make a *Cavalcado* vpon *Templin*, (a towne hard by) thinking there on the sudden to haue surpris'd the *Swedish* Garrison. But their spyes having given them timely notice of it, they in fayre order expect these hot-spurr'd *Imperialists*. So that hard to it they fall ; and many on both sides fall in the Encounter. But the worst plainly fell vnto the *Imperialists*, who carryed not home so many as they brought out ; and yet they returned full as fast as ever they came.

*Tilly takes
Feldsberg.*

&

*New Branden-
burg.*

Tilly perceiving the King not to be tempted out, proceedeth forwards : setting himselfe downe at the siege of *Feldsberg* ; a Castle neere vnto *New Brandenburg*, now kept by the *Swedish*: which by assault he tooke in, putting all to the sword in it. Thence he goes to *New Brandenburg*, which he forthwith streightly besieges, and most fiercely assaults. There are his men soundly knockt many a time, by the *Swedens* sallies out of the Towne, and by others from the Army by *Dammn*. *Tilly* thus enraged with the losse of his men, after a large breach in the walles made with his Ordnance ; he *March 9.* resolues vpon a generall assault ; by fine force breaking into the Towne, he takes it ; kills all that he findes in Armes: except the Governour, Colonell *Kniphusen*, his wife and daughter ; foure Captaines, some Lieutenants, and Ancients, with about sixtie common Souldiers: all which he sends prisoners into *Stargard*. Newes of this being brought into
Friedland

Friedland some foure Leagues off, which was kept by one Regiment of foote and 17. troupes of horse; away packe the *Swedens*, late in the night towards *Ancklam*. The King also hearing of *Tillyes* hard dealing with his men, sends back to haue those *Imperialists* sent after and stayd, which had newly yeelded vp *Colbergen*: and these he causes to be kept in durance at *Friedberg*.

Tilly after this sends his Army towards *Demmin*: but finding no good to be done, eyther vpon the Army or Towne, and now perceiving that the King was not disposed to fight with him; and that his two Armies kept him from going further that way; bethinkes himselfe, and turnes back againe towards *Rapin*: loosing his Ordnance in the fennes, as the report was. Hearing of the Kings Ship-bridge in his returne, he sends *Coleredo* with twentie troupes of horse through *Botsaw* towards the *Oder*, to hinder the worke if it might be: but they finding the bridge not onely finished, but with a strong Sconce fortified also; are faine to turne back againe. In the taylor of them, follow 600. *Swedish* horse, pursuing them even vnto *Botsaw*: where other of their fellowes joyning with them, they passe beyond *Bernau* vnto *Munchenberg*: falling there on the sudden vpon seaven hundred *Crabats*; of which many they kill; an hundred they take, their Colonell hardly escaping into *Franckford*, was faine to leaue all he had behinde him. *Tilly* having thus left the Country; the King resolues vpon the taking of *Franckford*: in his going whither, his Vantcurryers surprise *Zednick*; kill three hundred *Crabats*; obtaine three Cornets, and 460. horses, with a great bootie besides.

Tilly turnes
backe againe
towards *Mag-*
denburg.

The King resolving now vpon the siege of *Franckford*, vpon our *Lady day* in *March*, beginnes to passe his Army over the *Oder*: vpon the 27. he advances forwards in good order, with some 18000. men in his whole Army, besides those of *Gustavus Horne*, who were to goe for *Landtsbergen*. Count *Schomburg* (who commanded in chiefe within the town) now suspecting the Kings purpose; takes in 7000. more into the Garrison: whereof twelue troupes of horse: and rayfes

The siege of
Franckford vpon
the *Oder*.

* Or Diepen-
bach.

outworkes in the destroyed Vineyards. The first of *Aprill*, comes **Teuffenbach* newly made Marshall of the *Imperiall* Army. He burnes downe one of the Suburbs of *Lubus*, to disappoint the enemy from lodging in it. The very same day, arrives the King at *Lubus* within a league of the Towne. The next day, he entrenches in the Vineyards aforesaid; whereupon the view of the Towne being taken, the batteries are rayfed. That evening, the *Imperialists* make a brave sallye through the *Gubens*-gate : and with the losse of a Lieutenant and many men, are beaten into the Church-yard, by the gate aforesaid; and glad to get in at it. In this Skirmish were many lost on the Kings side too, and Baron *Teuffell* among the rest wounded in the arme. The next day being *Palme Sunday*, *Aprill* the third, old stile : the King keeps the solemnitie of the day, with prayers and Sermons in his Camp. All this while had there not beene one shot made against the Citie. Whereupon those of the Towne thinking the King had not as yet brought many peices with him, begin to revile the *Swedes* that had the guard next their workes : *What you Bacon-eaters, have you eaten up all your Leather-gunnes for hunger?* Out of a Bulwarke at the same time vpon a pike, hung they a Goose; calling the King *a wild Goose, lately come over the Sea*. The King regards none of this, till both Sermon and dinner too was done. About two a clocke, the *Swedes* fall to worke vpon their Trench, rayfed the night before, close vnto the *Gubens*-gate : and while the pioners worke, the Souldiers with pike and sword, beate the *Imperialists* out of an Outworke they thereby had, into the Towne. That worke being perfected; the King himselfe (then who there is scarce a better Gunner in the world) bends twelue peices of Ordnance vpon that gate : vnder favour of those peices, clapping two Petards also vnto it. Through the gate, partly thus beaten open, and partly blowne vp, doe the *Swedes* towards Evening enter; others getting in by *scaladoe* : others enter pell mell with the *Imperialists*, that now forooke their stations : the King himselfe getting over the wall also by the old Colledge, was every where encouraging his Souldiers.

Now

Now began a most bloody fight: the *Swedes* running into the danger, like flies into the Candle, as if they had beene blind, and not seene it, when as there was nothing else to be seene. From a Turret neere the place where the King entred, the *Imperialists* shot amayne: the *Swedes* threatned to cut all their throats if they gaue not over: vnto which, they now perceiving how the game went, quickly hearkned. By this time, were all the *Swedes* entred by the *Gubens-gate*. *Schomberg*, with valour enough, encourages his men to hinder it. Vpon him, now comes *Bauditz* with fresh troupes of horse and foote, and beates him quite out of the place. Now was the Towne wonne: now they beginne to flee. Some of the chiefe officers of the Army, that had heretofore gotten great spoyles (for in this Towne were most of the old Servitors on the Emperours side) being now afraid to loose, what they had so hardly before gotten; were carefull in the heate of the medly, to send their Wagons towards *Silesia*, over the *Oder* bridge. Thus while the bridge was clustered with carriages, the fleeing people so throng'd and wedg'd in one another, that many were stifled, and many thrust into the *Oder*: The *Swedes* also now in the backes of them, could not bestow cyther blow or shot, which did not some mischiefe. *Schomberg*, *Tenfenbach*, and *Monte Cuculi*, with diuerse horsemen, escaped into *Great Glogow* in *Silesia*. Lieutenant Generall *Herberstein* was slaine: so were *Heidu*, *Walstein*, and *Iour*; all Colonells; with fiftie other Captaines and Officers: and 1703. Souldiers at the least, dead vpon the place: besides those that were drowned; and others found in Cellars, Chambers, and elsewhere, as many more perchance. Colonell *Sparre* a *Swedish* borne, (who had once before escaped the King (as you haue heard) had the honour to be pulld by the hayre of the head from off his horse, by the Kings owne hand; being with seaven other Lieutenant Colonells, and some seaven hundred common Souldiers, sent prisoners into *Stetin*. Ensignes were there 23. (some say 41. and sure there could be little lesse) with 8. Cornets, presented vnto the King. There were 300. *Swedes* slaine, and 100. more hurt: whereof some mortally.

Frankford
taken.

The passages
and siege of
Landsbergen.

The Swedes
beaten.

The rest were so fierce vpon the slaughter and pillage, that the King and *Banditzen* had much adoe with intreaties, threats and blowes, to staue them off. To increase the misery of the Citizens, there fell a fire that night, which burnt downe 17. houses. Thus was the *Imperialists Goose* sawced, and thus roasted. Here found he very much riches, 100000. pound of powder, 18. great peices of Ordnance, besides many lesser ones, and a very great quantitie of Armes and Ammunition. Solemne thanks being given to G O D for this Victory; the King immediately dispatches 4000. horse towards *Landsbergen*, whither *Gustavus Horne* (as you heard) was before gone: himselfe the 5. th of *Aprill* with more forces following after. This strong Towne of *Landsbergen* in the *New Marck*, scituate vpon the East side of the *Oder*, neere vnto *Poland* and *Silesia* too: lyes vpon the River *Warta*; which running out of *Poland*, falls into the *Oder* about *Custrine*. This Towne lying so neere the *Pole*, with whom he had his late warres; makes it of the more consequence vnto the King. Faine therefore would he haue surprised it at his first comming into *Pomerland*. Immediately after which, *August 15.* he sends 2000. horse to try their fortunes vpon it. But they could doe no good. In the beginning of *December* were some strong parties of horse looking that way: so that some *Swedish* over-confident of their valour and fortune, would needs set vpon certaine troopes of *Imperialists*, which they heard were then abroad, betwixt that Towne and *Schiffelbein*. Of which the other (2000. in number) having also notice; provide in very good order and resolution to entertaine them. The *Swedes* are well beaten; 300. of them lost, and three Cornets: the rest glad to runne away. In the beginning of *Ianuary*, when vpon the taking of *Gartz*, the King had the pursuite of the fleeing *Imperiall* Armie; he thought at the same time to haue surprised this Towne also. Thither is *Gustavus Horne* then sent: and from thence by the valour of Count *Cratz*, Governour in the Towne, is he for that time put. *Horne* returning hereupon, hath notice by the Countrey Boores, of some five troupes of *Crabats*, which out of *Himmelstadt*,

melstadt, a Towne some league or two to the Northward; used much to infest those places. To hinder them, and to blocke vp the Towne of *Landtsbergen* withall, he leaues some 9000. men thereabouts. The King also himselfe more strongly blocks it vp, when he fate downe with his Army at *Coxinxbergen*; and perchance had not *Tilly* then beene about to come; he might then haue had a purpose to haue besieged it: but a sudden and a great frost hapning withall in the end of *January*; the King rises, and passes into *Mecklenburg*. Yet still was the Towne blockt vp; and (to passe by other encounters) in the beginning of *March*, the *Imperialists* falling out, are beaten in againe all but two hundred; which were left behinde, as prisoners. In mid-*March*, the King passes over the River *Warta*, nere vnto it. Towards the end of *March*, he laying a bridge over the *Oder* at *Swedt* (where he held his strong Leaguer) he had from thence a fayre passage both to that Towne, and vnto *Franckford*: vnto which siege when as himselfe in person went; then was *Gustavus Horne* againe sent towards this *Landtsbergen*, with twentie Cornets of horse, and foote proportionable: *Banier* then going as Lieutenant Generall, convoyes the Ordnance and Ammunition. No sooner was *Franckford* taken; but the King the very next day, dispatches 4000. horse thitherward: himselfe the 5. th of *Aprill* likewise following. And now goe they to it in good earnest: the King on one side of the River *Warta*, and *Horne* on the other. On the Kings side was the Towne naturally guarded, by a certaine morasse or marish: over which, the King by the guidance of a Boore so suddenly passes, that he was before the Towne, before the amazed Garrison lookt for it. Within a while after, yong Colonel *Cratz*, (sonne to the Governour) would needes fall out: but a musket-bullet stopt his retreat, for ever going to tell his Father. Vpon the 15. th of *Aprill* (the King having fully finisht his workes) by three a clocke in the morning, falls strongly vpon their outworkes, and takes them: and three hundred Souldiers in them, which were willing to serue vnder the Kings Colours. The rest seeing all hope of reliefe to be cut off, by the taking

Landtsbergen
blockt vp.

Taken

of *Franckford*: demaund Conditions and haue them. The next day therefore being Satterday by eight a clocke in the morning, out they march with bag and baggage, and 4. feild peices; and as much powder, as would dischargethem foure times over. The Garrison was some 4500. in all; of which 25. companies of foote, and 12. troupes of horse; whom the *Swedes* convoyed vnto *Great Glogow* in *Silesia*. And that you may not wonder, why so strong a Garrison would so soone giue vp so strong a place; know this, that they had no more provisions but for one day more: which had the King but gotten intelligence of, he had had the glory by holding out that other day, to haue had them all at his mercy: and to haue given them their liues, which now they had vpon bargaine. About this siege first and last, the King of *Sweden* lost 600. men. Thus are all those parts of *Pomeran* and *Marckland* quite cleered; and all passages open into *Silesia*.

At the same time therefore that he sent one Army against *Landtsbergen*; he dispatches the *Rhynegrave* and *Bauditzen* with other forces into *Silesia*; which is hard by *Franckford*. They fall vpon *Grossen*; the next great Towne vpon the *Oder*: which they presently take vpon agreement: after which they fetch in Contribution out of the Countrey as farre as *Sagan* and *Great Glogow* also. This put the *Imperialists* in such feare, that with all speede (namely, about the end of *Aprill*) the Emperour sends his Ambassadours to the States of *Silesia*: vnto whom (now met at *Breslaw*, the chiefe Citie of *Silesia*) are these grating Propositions offered.

1. That for every Oxe pastured betwixt the Rivers *Oder* and *Bober*, the Country people should pay the Emperour three *Creitzers* a weeke, and for those beyond, two *Creitzers*. And for every 25. sheepe, as much.

2. For every bushell of Corne grownd in *Silesia*, a Toll to be payd to the Emperour.

3. Out of every hundred Rixe Dollars lent vpon Vsury, the Emperour to haue one *Florene*.

4. Out of every pound of flesh two *Pfennings*.

5. Out of every tunne of Beere, twelue *Gross* to be payd. And

Grossen in *Silesia* taken.

The Emperour demaunds a terrible Exeise of *Silesia*.

two *Pfennings* make 1. *Creitzer*.
4 *Creitzers* make 1 *Batzen*.
5 *Batzers* are about an *English* shilling.
21. *Gross* make a *Rixe Dollar*.

And this Excise to continue for two yeares.

The Emperour is now enforced to lay Contributions vpon his owne natiue Subjects and Tenants of *Gratz* and thereabouts: whom (as the Princes of *Leipsich* sayd) he had hitherto spared. And now he victualls and new fortifies *Vienna* also. Thus begins the Eagle to looke to her owne nest.

And now is the Dyet of *Leipsich* concluded: which brake vp on the same *Palme Sunday*, that the King tooke *Franckford* vpon. And now are Don *Balthasar* and the Baron *Dhona*, sent with more forces into *Silesia*; which *Diepenbach* Generall for those parts, complaines vnto the Emperour that he much wanted. By this time is the most of *Aprill* spent; *Franckford*, *Crossen*, and *Landtsbergen*, Garrisond and fortified by the King: and his Armyes from severall parts, now come together and refreshed. Vpon *May-day* therefore 1631. (himselfe the next day being to come into *Franckford*) he sends some ten Regiments of foote from *Furstenwald*, (which is about a league from *Franckford*) towards *Kopenick* backe againe into the Land of *Brandenburg*: after whom, are 80. troupes of horse presently dispatched. Vpon which *May-day*, is Count *Ortenburg* sent in ambassage from the King vnto the Marquesse *Electer* of *Brandenburg*; the Propositions were, to desire *Spandan* and *Custrine* to be consigned over into his hands during the time of these warres; because they lay so convenient for him: both for the passage of his forces out of *Mecklenburg* and *Pomerland* vnto him; and for his owne retreat backe againe vnto them, if he should be put to it. A moneths pay was further required for the Armie; or else will the King leaue all. *Ortenburg* returning without a satisfying answer, *Gustavus Horne* is sent: and he sayling, the King himselfe goes to the *Electer*; taking five troupe of horse, 1000. Muskettiers and foure feild peices along with him. *May 3.* the *Electer* meets him in a little wood vpon the *Copenicker*-heath, some *Englisch* mile from *Berlin*: here the King receiving no contentment, offers to returne to his Leaguer againe; but the *Electresse* and the Court Ladies prevaile so farre with their feminine irresistibilitie, that his

Majestie takes his lodging in *Berlin* for that night, with a thousand Muskettiers for his guard. *May 5.* the treatie begins againe : and by this time was the Kings whole Army come vp to *Berlin*; the sight of an Army, is a very fierce argument, 'tis a very prevailing *Logike*. The *Electör* is with much adoe brought to yeeld *Spandau* vnto the King for one moneth : whereupon the next day, the Governour *Buckersdorp* with a Garrison of six hundred men, goes out of the Towne ; and the Kings forces come in. *Custrine* (the strongest Fort of all the Country, over whose bridge the *Imperialists* fleeing from *Gartz*, had escaped into *Franckford* :) he could not obtaine from the *Electör* : *Crachten* the Governour mainly resisting the Kings desires in it. That which made the King, now all on the sudden, to desire these passages and Retreats of the *Electör*, was ; that now despairing both of the holding out of the Towne of *Magdenburg*, and of his owne relieving of it : he feared Generall *Tillyes* comming backe vpon him over the *Dessau* bridge, (after the taking of the Towne) which was now at the last cast. Cause withall had he to suspect, that if *Tilly* should indeede come backe, the feare of his fame and Armes, would so prevaile with his brother of *Brandenburg*, that he might (perchance) be enforced to the cooping of him vp at these Townes, whereby he should be hindered of his retreat backe into *Pomerland*. Hearing by this time that the Towne of *Magdenburg*, was actually now taken, *May 10.* th, his Majestie with all speede encamps at *Potstain*, a Towne in the *Old Marck* of *Brandenburg*, betwixt *Berlin* and the Towne of *Old Brandenburg* ; whither a little before he had caused his Army to retyre. At this Leaguer the mayn of his Army staves, from about the 8th or 10th of *May* vntill *June* following. Here having formed a Camp, he first of all sends a Trumpet to summon the *Imperialists* in *old Brandenburg* & *Rattenaw*, two good Townes vpon the River *Havel* : laying his passage this way towards the River of *Elbe* ; so to blocke out *Tilly*, from breaking in that way vpon him. *Brandenburg* and *Rattenaw* thus summoned, and *Tilly* yet so busied at *Magdenburg*, that he could not helpe them ; and the

King

* See pag. 70.

The King encamps at *Potstain*.

Old Brandenburg and *Rattenaw* taken.

King presenting his Canon before their towns, granting them no respite to consider vpon it, and laying hold of all the boats vpon the river *Havel* from thence even to *Havelberg* towne, they are forced to yeeld, and to be packing. In this time the *Imperialists* attempted the recovery of *Crossen* in *Silesia*: but the Garrison being assisted by their fellowes out of *Franckford* and *Landtsbergen*; kill some 150. or 200. of them vpon the place, driving the rest into *Great-Glogau*. And the *Imperialists* a little after that, lighting vpon a partie of 100. *Swedish* horse, take 25. of them, and driue the rest to take the *Oder*.

Some actions
in *Silesia*.

To retorne to the King. *Rattenaw* thus taken: and the Countrey of *Brandenburg* now quite cleered of the *Imperialists*: the King ships 100. peices of Ordnance, and other necessities for the building of a Sconce, in those new gotten boates afore said; to be readie for a new designe. The mayne of his foote forces, he still keepes in the Campe at *Potstayn*, and about *Brandenburg*, *Namen*, *Spandaw*, &c: and his horse in their Quarters betwixt that, and the *Dessau* bridge. Vpon the first of *June*, he commaunds foure Regiments towards *Gutterbogen*, a Towne towards the 2 passages over the *Elve*; at *Dessau* bridge namely, and at *Wittenberg*. A little after this, *Banditzen* in the night time passing a foord of the river *Elve*, surprises the *Imperialists* at *Werben*. About which designe we must for a while leave him, to speake of three other actions of the Kings, done on this side the Country: for the doing of which, now after *Tillyes* going towards *Saxony*, he had the better leisure.

The first of which was, his r'impatriating and installing of the two Dukes of *Mecklenburg*, into their ancient and pater-nall inheritance, which the Emperour had before deprived them of, and given vnto his Generall *Wallensteyn*. This Country being by the Kings Armes now almost cleered (excepting *Rostock*, *Wisnar*, *Dammitz*, and another Towne or two;) he on the 5th of *June*, causes the people to be new sworne againe vnto their naturall Lords; & *Wallensteyn* to be abjured. Which triumph himselfe honored, with his royall & victorious presence.

The Dukes of
Mecklenburg
againe In-
stalled.

* The Lord
Otbo Toodt, or
Ooty-toodt.

Gripswald be-
sieged.

The second Action was done in that part of *Pomerland* next vnto *Mecklenburg*; namely the taking in of the strong towne of *Gripswald*; done by his Lieutenant * Colonell *Toodt*. This strong towne of *Gripswald* (which is also honored with an *Vniversity*) is scituated in the little Dukedome of *Wolgast*, in the mouth of the *Oder*, not farre from *Stralesundt*, whereabouts the King first landed. Why it was not taken in till now, I know not. I finde it to haue beene besieged, (or blockt vp rather) with 5. Regiments of foote, and one of horse, about the 20th of *July* 1630. I finde some about it *August* 8. also: Mention is made of it in mid-*January* likewise: about which time the *Imperialists* fearing that *Dāmin* would be besieged, fetch some peices of Canon out of *Gripswald* into that Towne. This *Dāmin* being taken; *Gripswald* is left naked; & now in *March*, in good earnest set vpon: 10000. men being layd at a distance to blocke it vp. Of any assaults or attempts vpon the Towne, I reade not: nor of any sallies made by the besieged; but that fatall one, made by *Perusie*, then Governor there: in which skirmish, himselfe and his Ritmaister were both flaine. The occasion of it was thus: *Iune* 10th very early in the morning a partie of *Swedish* horse adventure to driue away some Cattell, feeding close by one of the Ports: which one of the Sentinels descrying, discharges his Musket, the Towne taking the Alarme vpon it. The *Swedish* suspecting some such matter, dresse a fine Ambuscado for them. Out sallies 4. companies; and amongst them *Perusie*, his Sergeant major or Ritmaister, and a Knight of the *Dutch* order. These sallyers being in a desperate case within, become the more adventurous without. Well! the Governors courage carrying him too farre in the pursuit of those, that did but feigne to flie; the ambush starts vp, and cuts betweene the Towne and him. The *Crabats* perceiving the danger, avoyde it by forsaking of their Maister. The *Dutch* Knight is flaine first; and the Governor not long after. By this time are there more forces of the King come in; which had marcht hard all night for that purpose; the plot being layd, that the game should thus be begun, before they were discovered. Now doe the *Swedens* make their approaches

ches to the walls: and after an houres space, the Towne is most streightly besieged. First the besiegers shew the Towne that they haue Canon, and then send to summon them by a Trumpet: Their answer was, that they would fight it out. Now are the Ordnance set to worke (which some call playing:) a faire faultable breach is made. The Garrison is as good as their words, for by that breach which the *Swedens* thought to enter, the other sally: yea so hard they lay vpon the *Swedish* foot, that had not the horse struck in, they had made foule worke: but being by this meanes beaten into the Towne, they presently found a parlie. The assault is given over; Conditions of yeelding agreed vpon; which came to thus much: That vpon *June 16.* they should depart with flying ensignes, bag and baggage, and be convoyed vnto *Loitz* first, and to march into *Rostock* afterwards. The *Swedish* convoy being something too weake for them, they would not keepe conditions and goe to *Rostock*; but into *Havelberg* would they goe, that they would. This had crost the Kings designe, which he was now about for this *Havelberg*. The *Swedish* Generall *Banier* having notice of the way they tooke; sends Captaine *Hall* to meete with them: who falling fowle vpon them; kills a many, and takes the rest prisoners. Thus payd they for breach of Conditions. The King not knowing of the taking of the Towne, was now comming from *Stetin* with a great power to doe it: but is by the newes of it turn'd backe againe.

Taken.

The third Action on this side, was a passage betwixt the King, and the *Elect*or of *Brandenburg*; thus. The King having in the beginning of *May* before, obtained the towne of *Spandaw*, but for one moneth, and that moneth now out; the *Elect*or demaunds his towne againe. The proposition very much displeased the King, because it very much crost him: yet for his promise sake, he delivers it, *June 8.* The next day he sends word into *Berlin* (the town where the *Elect*or held his Court) of a *Visite* he meant to giue it: and a Protestation withall, that if any thing fell out foule vpon it, the bloud should not be layd to his charge. The same day, he streightly beleaguers *Berlin*; bending his Canon directly vpon the *Elect*ors palace. Out sends the *Elect*or to treat; 3 dayes are spent about it; & all to no purpose.

Brandenburg
demaunds
Spandaw
againe.

Spandaw, redelivered vnto the King.

Thus at last when the men could not agree, the women draw downe the King to milder resolutions. Two Regiments are received into the Towne for that night: & the conclusion is, that vpon *June 12.* the Kings Garrison is againe admitted into *Spandaw*: and *Brandenburg* is to giue 30000. Rixe Dollars a moneth, towards the payment of the Kings foote; the Dutchie of *Pomerland* and *Mecklenburg*, being at the charges of maintaining most of the horse. Some may imagine, that this was but a colourable deniall in *Brandenburg*; and rather Art then force, in the King. Their reason is; because the King of *Sweden*, is brother in Law to the Elector of *Brandenburg*; as having married his sister; and therefore not likely to doe him violence: he besides, being one of those oppressed Princes, whom the King came to relieue. So that this they judge to haue beene such a practise, as that (as they say) before of the Duke of *Pomerlands* was; and that *Brandenburg* seem'd to be vnwilling, with what he was glad of; that he might haue this answer, to giue the Emperour, That he was forced to it. I cannot tell: but this I beleeeve, that would *Brandenburg* haue done the King a service, he might haue before done it, by granting *Custrine* vnto him: and that might haue beene the saving of *Magdenburg*. This I rather beleeeue, that *Magdenburg* being thus taken and destroyed, the Elector was terribly affrighted, and therefore durst not but desire *Spandaw* againe: but hearing now that *Tilly* was gone a fortnights march from him; engaged otherwhere; and the *Dessau* bridge broken downe, that he could not returne; he consented vnto the King. Well! the agreement being made, the King on the same *12.* of *June* goes thence by water vnto *Stetin*, there to giue audience vnto the *Russian* Ambassadour: which he did vpon the *14th* after.

By this time, there having beene some murmuring amongst the *Protestants* against the King, concerning the taking of *Magdenburg*; as if he had beene too slow or defectiue in his aydes or counsells, vnto that Citie: His Majestie, though in himselfe guiltlesse; yet considering that he is cruell to himselfe, who is negligent of his owne fame or reputation; he thinkes

thinkes himselfe bound in honour to excuse himselfe ; and therefore sends abroad this his Apologie, which wee haue here abbreviated.

That he could never by any perswasions or assurances draw in the Citizens of *Magdenburg*, to disburse any moneyes towards the levying of any forces for his service, and their own safeties : no nor so much as to billet or quarter any of his troopes vpon them; vntill by the blocking vp of their towne, they were compelled vnto it. That neither could their owne Prince the *Administrator* of *Magdenburg*, when in the end of *July 1630*. he came into their Citie, obtaine so much of them: which had it beene done, *Pappenheim* had then beene diverted ; an inexpugnable Fort might haue beene rayfed ; and the Seate of warre haue beene turn'd off from the Citie. That the enemy had such potent *Agents* within the Towne, that all good resolutions in others, were hindered by them : and vnto their trecheries, is the ruine of their owne Countrey to be imputed. That notwithstanding all this, the Citie can witnesse his great care in borrowing moneyes from *Hambrough* and *Lubeck* for them ; which had beene sent vnto them. As for any promise from his Majestie, which the Citizens may alledge that they relyed vpon ; they must know, that this is to be regulated according to conveniencie, possibilitie, and the present state of things : so that the King might not then endanger the whole action, for the particular of one Citie ; especially seeing their owne negligence, had now made his promise impossible to be kept. Moreover, other most insuperable difficulties haue since fallen out and made his relieving of them impossible. As that Imperiall Armie in *Pomeran* and *Mecklenburg* : which besides that it was farre too strong for him in horse ; had even then blockt vp all passages from the East Sea vnto *Magdenburg*. That it had beene in vaine for him to haue attempted any further, vntill he had first taken in, those two mightie passages of *Gartz* and *Grip-penhagen*. That notwithstanding all his diligence, he could not conveigh any troopes vnto *Magdenburg*, (to any purpose) vntill *November* last ; by which time, the enemy had encroached

The Kings
Apologie
concerning
Magdenburg.

encroached too farre vpon them That *Gartz* and *Grippenhagen* being taken, he might haue ruined the whole Emperours Army, could he but haue obtained the passage of *Custrine*: but this had bin denyed him by *Krachten*, then Governour of it. That hereupon, he was faine to let the enemy escape (in their flight from *Gartz*) into *Landtsbergen*: nor was he able after that, to cleere the *Elve* of the enemies, & all this, through *Krachten*s deniall. If it had beene expected, that his Majesty should then haue joyned battell with *Tilly*: they are to consider, the many labours and weaknesse of his forces: the hardnesse of the winter; and the over-matching power of the enemy: who had he wonne the battell, had at that blow conquered both *Magdenburg* and *Germany*. That after *Tilly*s retyring from him to besiege *Magdenburg*, he had strengthened the Imperiall Army left against his Majesty, with 12000 new men: laying them vpon all the passages and advantages of *Pomeran*, *Brandenburg*, and *Silesia*: and especially vpon the River *Oder*; and in the Townes of *Franckford* and *Landtsbergen*: that had he stirr'd to relieue *Magdenburg*, they had come vpon his backe. That to shew his willingnesse, to relieue *Magdenburg*, he had adventured vpon the taking of *Franckford*; and after that advanced as farre as *Spandaw* and *Potstayn*, towards it. That notwithstanding the Towne so much concerned the *Elect*or of *Saxony*, yet could his Majesty never obtaine of him, any aydes towards the reliefe of it; or any passage by *Wittenberg*, or the *Dessau* bridge, towards it. That the *Elect*or of *Brandenburg* had not, or could not in time deliver him such victuals and shipping, as were necessary to it: as having a respect vnto what the *Elect*or of *Saxony* did, or would doe. That he yet knew not, whether these two *Elect*ors were or would be, his friends or his enemies. All this considered, his Majesties Councell of warre assured him, That with so over-wearied an Army, first to passe so many enemies in the way; and then to haue set vpon *Tilly*, had ruind all. Lastly, that he would haue relieved the Towne, appears by the neede himselfe stood in of it: seeing vpon the newes of the taking of it, he was faine to retyre with his Army; and project

project new designs for his securitie and proceeding. This was his Majesties Apologie.

Suppose now in the meane time the Generall Tilly to be removed from *Magdenburg*; whence in Whitsun weeke about the end of *May*, he departed. This knowne, the King presently hath a designe of recovering those places; and he having forsaken the *Elve*, the King sends towards it. Now doth the gallant *Bauditzen* all of a sudden one night with his Dragonniers, passe a shallow place or Foord of the *Elve*: whereby the *Imperialists* in *Werben* are taken sleepers, kill'd, rowted or imprisoned; their Lieutenant-Colonell, their chiefe Quarter-maister, and their Towne surpris'd: Others at the same time doe as much to *Borg*, within 4. leagues of *Magdenburg*. Tilly now vpon his march hearing of these tydings, and fearing withall that the King had an intention to lay a bridge over the *Elve*; away dispatches he foure Regiments vnder *Pappenheims* Commaund; to secure *Havelberg*, and those neighbour places. *Werben* thus surpris'd, now begins some of the Kings Army to remooue from about *Potstain*; and the Navie of boates with their provisions, are sent towards *Copenick*, to passe by *Berlin* and *Potstain*, into the River *Havel*: both Armie and Fleete moving towards old *Brandenburg*, *Rattenaw*, and so on towards *Havelberg*. At this time the King having receiv'd a supply of foure Regiments out of *Prussia*, and some new troupes levied about *Brandenburg*, with some others drawne out of their Garrisons, he divides his forces: the Lord *Oxensterne* Chancellor of the Kingdome of *Sweden*, hath 38. troupes of old Sou'diers added vnto his former Army in *Prussia*: *Gustavus Horne* hath his strength in *Silesia*, againe reinforced with Recruits; and a bridge is layd by him over the *Oder* at *Schamburg*, a mile beneath *Custrine*. By this time (that is in the end of *June*) is the King come backe againe from *Stetin* vnto his Armie; and that dislodged and advanced. Vpon the last of *June* therefore in the night, is Colonel *Duwaldt* sent out * with 2000. horse, and 2000. Dragoniers, or Muskettiers on horseback; who passing through the *Elve* at a shallow passage (as *Bauditzen*

Werben taken
and *Borg*.

Pappenheym
sent to resist
the King.

*Others name
98. companies
of foote, and
60. troupes of
horse.

**Tangermünd
taken.**

ditzen had done before,) now falls vpon the Citie of *Tangermünd*; where both Towne and Castle being taken, the most of the Garrison are flaine in the resistance. The next day, thither also comes his Majestie. The *Imperialists* of *Garleben* (another neighbour Garrison) hearing of this, presently flee away towards *Halberstadt*: *Wolmerstat* is presently also taken: yea the *Swedish* fly out so farre, that they tooke away fiftie horses which were grasing even vnder the walls & Ordnance of the Citie of *Magdenburg*. *Tangermünd* thus taken; a bridge is laid over the *Elve*, and there the King entrenches himselfe, there he fortifies, and formes a Camp. And now begins the bustling, and not till now.

**Papenheym
beaten.**

Papenheym with his 4 Regiments of *Crabats* and others, with the expelled Garrisons thereabouts, being sent by *Tilly* to keep those places; does his best to hinder the proceedings. The *Rhyne-graue Charles Lodowicke* therefore with some *Swedish* forces being there abroad about *Borg* and *Wolmerstadt*, not farre from *Magdenburg*, upon them falls *Papenheym*: of whose approach the King having notice, with all the horse he could make, and some 2000 Musketiers, comes time enough to make one in the medlye. *Papenheym's* Foote are almost all cut off, most of the Horse play'd the *Pultrons*, and ranne away: himselfe escaped into *Magdenburg* first, from whence he hastned towards *Halberstat*, there to expect his Master the Generall *Tilly*. It was said that some 20 Companies were here defeated, and some 14 Ensignes taken. The Garrison of *Steyndall* beyond *Tangermünd* hearing of this, presently trusse up their bag and baggage, and away are they packing.

A battell.

Steindal taken.

**Havelberg ta-
ken.**

Papenheym thus removed from about *Havelberg*; early in the morning *July 9th.* comes *St John Bannier*, the Kings Lieutenant generall at that time, and he falls vpon *Havelberg*: so called from the river *Havell*, on which it standeth. All that are found in Armes are put to the sword, and the Towne taken. This the King having notice of, the same day begins to remoue his Campe from *Tangermünd*, shipping all his provisions downe the *Elbe* towards *Werben*. This Towne was held

held the more advantageous place to encampe in, for that it had the commaund and passage not of the *Elbe* alone, but of the *Havell* also, which here at *Werben* runnes into the *Elbe*. The King formes a strong Campe at *Werben*. The Campe lay on both sides the river, the Towne it selfe being comprehended within it, this he fortifies most mainly, as strong as ever he did that of *Swedt* upon the *Oder*, when *Tilly* before came by him into *Mecklenburg*, this hee doth upon the same grounds and wisdom too. *Tilly* was then neere unto him, and now is hee againe upon his march towards him. *Papenheym* had sent for him: *Mansfield* Governor of *Magdenburg* had dispatcht 4 posts in one day towards him; helpe, haste, come away, or all is lost. *Tilly* therefore then about *Saxonie*, is inforced to put off his owne invasion of *Hessen*, and to countermaund his Forces backe againe already sent thither: and now is *Tilly* come backe almost as farre as *Halberstadt*, the King calls out all his Garrisons out of the Townes which could not be defended. This was about *Iuly 14th, 1631* from whence hee advances vnto *Wolmerstadt* in the Arch-bishopricke of *Magdenburgh*. The Land of *Hessen* wonderfully delivered.

Hither being come vpon the 16th or 17th of *Iuly*, hee first of all dispeeds away 4 Regiments of Horse for his Vant-curriers, to stay the Kings proceedings, whilst himselfe with his whole Army might come vp to him: and if it were possible to tempt the King out of his trenches, to pitch a battell in the field. These gallant Troupes most of them old soldiers, were *Papenheym's* men, and very forward therefore now to revenge their fellowes. Colonell *Bernsteyn*, a valiant Gentleman was now their Leader: his Regiment was all *Curiassers*, or men at Armes. The second Regiment was the *Italian Count Monte Cuculies* (himselfe not there) consisting of 12 Cornets of Rutters. The third was *Holicke* his Regiment, and in that 5 Cornets of *Curiassers*, and 5 more with fire-lockes. The fourth belonged vnto *Coronino*, and 10 Cornets had he vnder him. All these were verily perswaded, that the King would not fight, and in this perswasion they continued, till they came to *Tanger*, a Dorpe within one *Germane* league of *Tangermund*: not a *Swede* all that while

while appearing to oppose them. Here (about *Tanger*) doe these braue *Imperialists* take vp their Quarter; the *Swedish* having before forsaken that, and some other open places.

A battell.

Bernsteyn
slaine.

Whilest the wearie Troupes there rest; out goes *Bernsteyn* with some 600 *Curiaffers* to set the watch, and to guard the passages for that night. The King of *Sweden* fully enformed by his skowtes, both of their lodging and strength; that very day sends out 2000 chosen Musketiers, and 500 Dragoniers, vnder the commaund of Colonell *Collenbach*, and the *Rhyne-grane*: before breake of day had approacht the Enemie. The 500 Dragoniers, they set to fall vpon *Bernsteyns* 600 *Curiaffers*; *Collenbach* with his Musketiers on foote encompassing the *Dorps*, where the *Imperialists* lay enquartered. The Dragoniers charging, presently tumble downe a many of the *Curiaffers*; Colonell *Bernsteyn* himselfe being slaine among the first, and in him a Familie, for he was the last of his name. The rest neither able with their horses and pistols, to hold out against horses and muskets; nor yet knowing the strength of their Enemies, make a disorderly retreat into the *Dorp*: thither the Dragoniers pursue them, and there leaping from their horses, they with their muskets still let flie amongst them. The other *Imperialists* cannot bee said to haue taken the Alarme, but the fright at it; some get horses to fight, and some to flie: well, which way soever they issue out of the Towne, one Troupe or other of *Collenbach's* muskettiers are ready to entertaine them. Thus are 1500 slaine, all the 4 Regiments defeated, *Bernsteyn* kild, *Holck* and *Coronino* fled, some 28 or 29 Cornets taken: whereof of *Bernsteyns* 10, of *Holcks* 6, of *Monte Cuculies* 5, of *Coroninoes* 7, besides those that were burnt. Great bootie gotten of silver-veffell &c. some one souldier lighting vpon 1000 Rix-Dollars, and another vpon as many Duckets. This defeate hapned vpon Sunday morning *July* 17: vpon which day these *Imperialists* were dispenced withall for being at *Morrow-Masse*, as having before day light beene at a *Black-Sanctus*. This defeate was given, *Tilly* himselfe being in sight of it.

Generall *Tilly* resolving now vpon a revenge, vpon Tuesday and Wednesday following, he musters and over-veiwes his Armie and Ammunition, gets all things ready for a battell. Vpon Thursday *July 21*, forward he sets towards the King, by faire and easie marches (not to over-tyre his Armie) coming vnto *Tangermund*, where the King had before encamped, and from whence he had given order for his Garrison to retyre, if they perceived *Tilly* about to come vpon them. *Tilly* at this time (reckoning those that were before slaine) brought some 26000 men along with him, and all these like himselfe, full of anger, resolution, and desire of revenge. Before he would assault the Kings Trenches, he was said secretly to haue sent vnto some confederates and well-wishers of his, or otherwise corrupted with promises, to doe a peice of trecherous service for him: and that was, to naile the Kings Ordnance, (at least in that part of the Camp where he meant to fall on) that so it might be made vnseruiceable against him. The plot being (by I know not what remorse in the conscience of one of the vndertakers) discovered; The King (tis said) gaue not *Tilly* one Canon shot when hee first fell on, notwithstanding he were come even vnder the Ordnance; and that *Tilly* was said to haue made about 60. This made him confident, and his men braue; who pressing now on in great multitudes, all of a sudden was such a tempest of shot, chaine-shot, murthuring-shot, and what ever was cruellst to doe execution, showered in amongst them; that there was made a miserable butcherie. By another Avenue at the same time, out sallies *Banditzen* with 3 Regiments of horse, who set so rudely vpon the Enemies *Cuirassiers*, that had the King seconded him with the rest of the Armie, it had beene (as tis thought) a very miserable defeate. Thus is the retreat sounded for that night. Within a day or two, another revenge must be attempted, before which, tis reported also, that *Tilly* should haue hired some Boores to haue fired the Towne of *Werben*, round about which the Kings Leaguer was: but these two reports wee doe onely relate, but presse not vpon our Readers, these perchance are but devised. Well; *Tilly* can

*Tilly 3 times
assaults the
King in his
Trenches.*

**Tilly beaten
off.**

make nothing of it neither this day, nor the next, (which was *S. James* his day *July 25*, and the last day that hee attempted any thing vpon the Trenches : and is therefore forced to retire towards *Tangermund*. In which retreat the King himselfe setting vpon him, so over-laid the *Crabats*, that they were driven backe vpon their owne Foote ; who to keepe them from disordering of their rancks, were faine to staue them off, by charging their pikes vpon them. *Tilly* perceiving the King comming, made *Alt* or a stand, putting his men in order, & bringing forward his Canon as the King also did. A skirmish now beginning, was by the night taken off, both sides retyring to their quarters. Some say that the King himselfe was in one of these fights, in some danger and too farre engaged : and that *Banditzen* was so hemb'd in, that he was faine by maine force to breake through : and that in the comming off, he should breake his sword in the body of a great Commaunder, bringing out nothing but the hilts, and some two handfuls of the blade : and that his horse was 4 times shot, and a peice of his saddle carried away. The Generall *Tilly* not vsing thus to be foiled, and having a good mind to be revenged, layes a Bridge over the *Elbe* at his Campe at *Tangermund*, daily sending some out to spie their opportunitie and advantage : but perceiving many of those which he sent out, never to returne againe, and victuals to proue excessiue deare, yea scarce to be gotten for any money ; he having beene almost a whole moneth about the King, and all that to doe as the blind cat did to the flie, lickt the skinne off her owne tongue : about the 10 of *August* hee dislodges with his Armie, marching directly towards *Garleben*, *Wolmerstadt*, *Hall*, and so to the Duke of *Saxonies* Countrie. His wants may well be beleev'd to be many, seeing he was now enquartered vpon that Country, which himselfe had before dispeopled, and eaten up. Five hundred starved horses left he behind him, (a most rich prey for a kennell of hounds) and 800 wagons for want of horses to draw them : with much else perchance, which otherwise he would not haue left behind. Some report him to haue lost 6000 or 7000 men ;

**Tilly retires
from the King**

per-

perchance in all these 3 great defeates of *Papenheym*, *Bernsteyns*, and his owne hee might, and yet is halfe so many, a great many for so great a Generall to loose, nor would the side haue it so many confessed.

Generall *Tilly* thus marcht off, and the King having now no need to keepe so many Forcestogether, (it being both inconvenient, and chargeable besides) he divides his Army into 3 severall Quarters : of which we shall by and by tell you more.

During this time, her Majestie the Queene of Sweden arrives with 8000 men at *Wolgast*, by *Stralesunt*, where the King had before appointed a Pallace to entertaine her. And now also is the Lord Marquis *Hamilton* arrived. His Lordship after his going from *London*, vpon *Iuly* 18 met with the Forcesthat were to joyne with him out of *Scotland*, in *Tarmouth* roade in *Norfolke* : which was their appointed place of meeting. Thence setting saile the 19th, (being a fleete of some 38 or 40) on the 25th they came before *Elsemore* Castle in the *Sowndt* of *Denmarke*. There went the Marquis ashore to kisse the King of *Denmarkes* hand, who then lay at *Frederickstadt*. The 29th they set saile againe, comming to anchor the next day by the Isle of *Rugen*. The 31th they sail'd into the mouth of the *Oder* betwixt *Wolgast* and the Isle of *Usedom*. The 2 and 3 of *August* were the Forces landed : being vpon muster found to bee about 6000 able men ; amongst which but a very few sicke, and two dead in all the voyage. The two next dayes they were all armed, and waded over the river from the Ile of *Usedom* vnto *Wolgast* side ; and there billeted in 5 Villages. Hereabouts for a while they stay, and that, for the comming of 4 or 5000 *Swedish* which were to be sent vnto them. These being at hand to meete them about *September* 20, vp the *Oder* from *Stetin* they goe ; being about some 41 Companies : some peices of Ordnance they carry with them by water, and some (tis said) are drawne over-land along by them. Their way was towards *Silesia*, where *Gustavus Horne* was now with an Armie. They were afterwards engarrison'd in *Custrine*, *Franckford*.

The Queene of Sweden arrives in Pomerania.

Marquis Hamilton arrives in Pomerania.

His men put
into Garrison

Catholike In-
telligence.

The King dis-
misses his Ar-
my.

ford, Landtsbergen, and Crossen: in whose places the old soldiers were drawne out into the field. A report we here had of a defeat they should give, but this we leave to be confirmed in our second part. The newes of the *English-mens* comming being reported at the Emperours Court at *Vienna*, did something startle and amaze some of the Courtiers: but the *Hubbub* was ere long well allayed, by a letter (from a good *Catholike* hand no doubt) received out of *England*. The Contents were; how that few or none could here (in *England*) be gotten, to come at the beating of the drummes, or to serve against the Emperour: whereupon a most strict presse was faine to be set abroad, upon which few or none except rogues or jayle-birds were taken; so that those Forces were not much to be feared. You see how much this Army was beholden to their Countrey-man, this *Spaniolized* Intelligencer.

Suppose his Majestie of *Sweden* employed all this while, about the emptying of his great Camp at *Werben*, into other Stations. Some he keepes there still, others are sent into *Rattenaw*; and a third division into old *Brandenburg*. This was about mid-*August*. About which time he hath 4000 new men come to reenforce him out of *Sweden*. Some Ordnance and Engines of warre they brought with them: and they tooke their way thorough *Brandenburg-land* towards *Franckford*; And these (I suppose) were the men, whose comming the *English* stayed for. The King leaving *Bauditzen* with chiefe Commaund for the time, in the Camp at *Werben*, with some ten Regiments of horse, and six of foote: upon the 29. of *August*, himselfe in person departs from *Rattenaw* towards old *Brandenburg*; carrying foure Regiments of *Dutch*, and one of *Finlanders* along with him. By this time was the Generall *Tilly* a very busie enemy, in taking of Townes in *Saxony*: and that Duke with an Army of 20000. men in the field about *Torgau*, one of his chiefe Frontier Townes, towards the Kings Army. The Duke must now declare with the King, or perish vnder *Tilly*: and there had not onely many treaties passed with the Duke, concerning the conjoyning of their Armes;

Armes; but, as it seemes, some assurances of late times: little or nothing now remaining to be concluded, but some circumstantiall particulars, poynts of honour, and proportions of payments to the Kings Army. All these, it was not hard to be fayrely accommodated; and the Dukes pressing necessities his Majestie well perceived, would suddenly enforce him to condescend. Vpon these grounds, the King moues forward towards the Duke of *Saxonyes* Country. So then; the Kings Infantry or Foote, being fayrely sent a little before; the Cavalry the same 29. of *August*, in number 73. Cornets of horse, and 1000. Dragoniers, marches from old *Brandenburg*: taking vp their Quarter the same night, some two leagues from that Citie; and for that he would not hinder his march by taking of Townes, or going thorough them; he that night pitcht in the feilds, neere the Towne of *Zegefern*; where the Army was but very poorely accomodated; as being constreyned to content themselves with the hospitality of the warres, and to lodge all night in the open ayre, vnder the blew skies, and to accept of as cold Commons vnto it: and all by reason that the Kings carriages, (in which their baggage and necessities were,) was not yet come vp vnto them. The next day *August* 30. so soone as the Army appear'd in battell array, his Majesty the King of *Sweden*, rode vp and downe amongst them from Regiment to Regiment, and from ranck to ranck, giving them this gracious Encouragement. Yee Lords and Gentlemen; much grieved I am at this your hard lodging and entertainment: But courage my hearts; we are now as good as in the Dukedome of *Saxony*; and there, indeede, our intention is to enter. Assure your selues, that things will mend there; there shall you haue victualls sufficient, and provision enough: then also shall we fully pay you the arrier, of whatsoever meanes is now due vnto you. Let vs onely make this condition with you; that you there behaue your selues more civilly and gently, then in some other places you haue done: and in the Marquisate of *Brandenburg* especially; where, indeede, it much grieved Vs, to see things carryed so ill-favourably. Hearke! at this present the Drummes beate a march,

The King
moues to-
wards the
Duke of
Saxony.

A hard Quar-
ter.

The Kings
Oration to
his Souldiers.

and the Trumpet sounds to Arme; the signals and summons of our moving forward. To morrow our Army breakes vp from *Werben*; and that also is to follow vs. *Tilly*, notwithstanding his great Army, stands already in so much awe of vs, that he proceeds with more leisure and warinesse, then he was heretofore wont to doe; for they haue beene beaten to it. It doth nothing daunt your valiant hearts, I know, that his Army is called *Invincible*; seeing you haue found it not to be so. On therefore, my hearts, a *Gods* name: Wee daily pray vnto the LORD of Hosts for you, and we desire you to doe the same for Vs; that he would be graciously pleased to goe along with vs, to assist vs, and to giue vs good successe, in whatsoever just and religious enterprise we vndertake.

Saxons vnion
with the King

The Army thus encouraged, and assured of their enterprise; now rise and march. So that taking their way by *Beltzig* they arriue at *Coswig*, within two leagues of *Wittenberg*, *August 31*. Hither now the same day came the Lord *Arnheim*, Feild-Marshal to the Duke of *Saxony*: and at this time his Ambassadour to the King. The case is now altered with that Duke; *Tilly* had taught him to request of the King, what he had before eyther denyed him, or would not time enough declare himselfe in: aydes, and joyning with him. *Arnheim* humbly now declaring his Maisters estate, requests his Majesties speedy assistance: the Conditions and manner whereof being *Sept. 1*. on the Kings part consented vnto, and sent vnto the Duke; are the next day returned in writing, and signed. The Vnion had these foure Conditions now yeelded vnto by the Duke, which he so much before stood vpon.

And the con-
ditions of it,

1. That his Majestie of *Sweden* might freely from henceforth, passe and repasse through *Saxony*.
2. That the *Elect*or of *Saxony* should at his owne charges provide the *Swedish* Army, with powder, shot, and provisions.
3. That the King should haue the absolute and vniverfall Commaund of the whole Armie: and the Dukes Souldiers to submit themselves vnto his direction.

4. That

4. That the Duke should conclude no peace with the Emperour, without the Kings consent: but that both of them should stand as one man, vntill the end of the warres.

The first defeat that this Vnion made, was of the *Papists* expectation: who verily beleaving that the *Conclusions of Leipfich* would haue made the *Protestants* fall out among themselves; are now frustrated of that hope. This done, the bridge at *Wittenberg* over the *Elbe*, is freed for the King, who *Sept. 3.* passes his whole Army over it, into the Dukes Country. *Sept. 4.* the Kings Army from *Wittenberg*, and the Dukes from *Torgau*, advanced as farre as *Dieben* vpon the River *Multa*, within three leagues of *Leipfich*: whither also the *Electer of Brandenburgs* troopes now came. Both Armies here meeting, in signe that the Duke had yeelded vnto what the King would haue, (namely the superioritie & command of the *Saxon* Armie,) the Horsemen as they came by, vayled and stooped their *Cornets*, and the Foote, their *Ensignes*, towards the Kings Armie. The 5th day both Armies putting themselves into fayre *Battalia*, the King tooke a particular view of the *Saxon* forces, and of the order and constitution of the Army, resolving the next day to visite the great Generall *Tilly* in his trenches, and to leuie his siege of *Leipfich*: but hearing that *Tilly* had that morning prevented them by taking of the Towne; the King and Duke were both put vnto new consultations: So that the 6th day was spent in providing for the great day, the day of battell, which fell out to be the next day following. And here now leaving

both the King and the Duke employed, let vs goe aside a while, to fetch their valiant Adversary into the field, the *Imperiall* Generall *Tilly*; whom we lately left retyring this way, from the Kings Leaguer of *Werben*.

(...)



Generall Tilly his proceedings from
the time of his retyring from the Kings
Campes in *Mecklenburg* and *Pomerland*:
*Historically led along vnto the day of his de-
feate, at the Battell of Leipfich.*



TH E Generall *Tilly* perceiving the King neither willing to adventure his Armies, now (like their swords) already worne out with so many winter-victories) into the plaine field against such fresh forces, who would bee desperate, because they must either fight or bee gone : and that he lay too strongly entrenched (in both places) to bee forced : and that by carrying away all provisions, hee had left him no meanes therealong to stay without starving : and now hearing newes from *Coloredo*, that there was no forcing of the Kings new Bridge layd over the *Oder* at *Swedt* : bethinks himselfe therefore of an expedition against *Magdenburg* ; rises, and retires with his Armie. In the end of *March* mind- ing wholly to leaue these Quarters vnto the King, hee first of all dismantles *New Brandenburg*, which he had so lately conquered : becomming now as cruell to the Towne, as hee before had beene vnto the Townsmen, and their Garrison : for he beates downe the walles, layes all the fortifications leuell with the ground, and so takes his leaue of it.

Tilly retyres
from the
King.

Order

Order is given vnto the Count of *Schomberg* to looke well vnto *Franckford* vpon *Oder*, and for the better securing of it, hee giues directions for 7000 fresh men to bee sent in, and that *Diepenbach* should also come into the Towne to assist *Schomberg*, as you haue heard before. And whereas there were yet two Townes with *Imperiall* Garrisons in them, neere vnto the Kings Campe at *Swedt*, (in *Brisen* namely, and *Moncheberg*) which to bee sure, the King would fall vpon so soone as ever his backe was turn'd; those Garrisons he therefore sends for, and away he marches backe againe, the same way (almost) that he came : to *Ferberlin* first, and so to *Old Brandenburg*. Now he cleerely discovers himselfe, that his purpose was to vndertake what *Pappenheym* had all this while beene about; the taking of the Towne and Arch-bishopricke of *Magdenburg*. Part therefore of his Cavalrie he sends to *Havelberg* : himselfe with the rest of the horse, & fve Regiments of foote passing the River *Havell*, takes vp his head-quarter at *Mockeren*. His magazine for the whole warre to come, he appoints at *Zerbst*, and that he might goe the roundlier to worke, he sends for his Ordnance from *Hall* and *Halberstadt*, which he commaunds to meete him at the Towne of *Magdenburg*.

Thus having brought the gallant Generall *Tilly* so farre onward on his way; and entred withall in that manner into our discourse, as a man should doe either into a goodly *Pallace* or *Historie*, namely in the midst of it : we will leaue our Generalla while taking order for his businesse, and goe to fetch vp our Storie from the beginning of these latter troubles.

The Countrey of *Magdenburg* is situated vpon the West of *Brandenburg*, from which the river *Elbe* parts it : vpon the South it touches vpon *Saxonie* : vpon the West joyning with *Brunswicke* and *Halberstadt* : and vpon the North of it is the *Elbe* againe, with the two Dutchies of *Lunenbourg* and *Lauenbourg*. The Countrey hath the name from the cheife Citie *Magdenburg*, which is one of the ancient *Hanse* Townes of the Empire : and that honored with an Arch-bishop

shops See, and he the *Primate* of all *Germanie*.

* For of that
Bishopricke is
he Admini-
strator also.

The people be *Lutheranes*, of the *Augustane Confession*: the Arch-bishopricke in the hands of a Lay-man; *Christian William*, a Prince of the Electorall house of *Brandenburg*. His Title is, *Administrator of the Bishopricks of Magdenburgh and Hall, and Primate of Germanie*. This bred the quarrell; for he not giving way to the *Reformation* of the Religion (that is, the bringing in of *Poperie* againe) and the restoring of the Church-lands, hee is *proscribed* and *Bandited* by the Emperor: and some Forces sent into his Countrey actually to seaze vpon them. His Subjects notwithstanding they were also farre out with the Emperor, as having consented with other *Hans-Townes* not to suffer any *Imperiall* Souldiers to be quartered or billeted vpon them, and had raised some 2000 souldiers for their owne guards, yet being now terrified by the Emperor durst not assist their Prince: vntill at last being encouraged by the King of *Sweden*, they receiue him, and promise to sticke close by him, for which the King sends his heartie thanks vnto them. This fals out about the end of *July 1630*. The Administrator thus returned, sets forth his Declaration: protesting in it against the wrongs done him by the Emperor, and putting himselfe vnder the protection of the King of *Sweden*.

The Duke of
Saxon-Lawen-
burg riseth
with the Ad-
ministrator.

With this Prince, had *Francis Charles* Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg* (and for the same respects) now conjoyned himselfe. In ayde of them, had the King of *Sweden* sent some troupes into the Country. And because the next way through *Mecklenburg* was full of *Imperiall* Garrisons, these aydes are sent from *Stralesundt* along by Sea, landing beyond all *Mecklenburg* at *Dassow*, not farre short of *Lubeck*. These, the Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg* aforesaid, vndertakes to let into *Magdenburg*, thorow his owne Country and the passages of *Lunenbourg*; in the Kings name also levying forces from about *Hamborough*, *Lubeck*, and those quarters: with whom about the end of *September*, he makes himselfe Master of the townes of *Boutzenburg*, *Lawenburg*, *Nyehusen*, and other places vpon the *Elbe*. Against him, towards the end of *September*, is

the

the Generall *Pappenheym* sent with more *Imperiall* forces : who quickly snaps vp the Duke, taking him prisoner in his owne brother Duke *Augustus* of *Saxon-Lawenburg* his Castle of *Ratzenburg* : and there an end of him for that time. Colonell *Bock* with ayde of the *Administrators* forces takes the Citie of *Hall* ; and otherwhere holds some play a while : but in *October* following is he taken off also.

Is taken prisoner by *Pappenheym*.

And Colonell *Bock* defeated.

In the end of *November* the King sends a noble Gentleman and well-beloved by him, the Lord *Diderick Falkenburg*, Lord Marshall or Chamberlayn of his Majesties owne household. He being with his forces come into the towne of *Magdenburg* ; the Country-Gentlemen and the Souldiery resort apace vnto him ; and the course of things begin to turne about againe. Then is Colonell *Schneidewin* sent out with 600. Muskettiers and 200. horse ; and he in *December*, takes in *New Allenleben* : slaying there some 60. *Imperialists*, and bringing 100. more, away prisoners with him. The towne of *Egelen* is a little after that taken also. In the beginning of *Ianuary* an *Imperiall* Captaine surprises some 50. or 60. of the *Magdenburgers* ; and they falling out vpon a strong Partie, fetch in a bootie of 800. sheepe and some 84. head of cowes and oxen : setting fire at the same time vpon some of their owne Dorps vpon the *Elbes* side, that the Enemie might not there nestle. I will not stand vpon every pettie encounter that passed this Winter time. The Spring comming on, they become more busie ; on the second of March the Count *Ladron*, together with his Lieutenant Colonell *Kirckner*, are snapt vp and flaine by the *Magdenburgers* at *Coswick*, neere vnto the Citie. The Citizens making out all their strength, cast vp three Out-workes hard without their Ports ; and the *Imperialists* falling vpon two of them at once : *Falkenburg* with 2 peices of Ordnance fallying the same time out of the Citie, sets vpon their Quarters, fires and spoiles all their Huts and Cabbins, where they had all this while wintered. Thus these lesser fishes play a while with one another, till at length the great Pike Generall *Tilly* comes amongst them, and deuoures them altogether. To him now turne we.

The Lord *Falkenburg* sent by the King.

Sup.

**The siege of
Magdenburg.**

**Gallobelgicus*
(as I take it)
calls this Fort,
*Ædes portito-
rias, or Muni-
menta portito-
ria: In Dutch
and English,
The Toll-house.*

Suppose him now at *Mockeren* (where wee last left him) already within the Bishoprick of *Magdenburg*, and within two or three leagues of the very Towne: in which of Soldiers and Burgers, there were some 4000. fighting men. Vpon the 12.th of *Aprill* he first presents himselfe in full *Battaglia* within a mile of the Citie: at which time beleevd it was, that he would at least haue fallen vpon the great *Starre-Sconce* by the old *Elve*: but that day attempted he no more then to beate some Guards out of their Redoubts into the Citie. The 13. he planted 12. peices of Canon against the bridge over the *Elve*; against which he made 568. shot that same day: his intent being to cut that passage off, that the Towne by it might send no succours to the foresaid *Sconce* or *Toll-house*; but the Generall *Falkenburg* conveniently planting some peices vpon the *Toll-house*, quite at last dismounted the enemies Canon. This not succeeding, *Tilly* falls pell mell at once vpon both these places, giving eight severall assaults vnto them: but the Lord *Falkenburg* with foure whole Canon double charged with stones, old iron, &c. about 12. a clocke at night made them to giue over. Some prisoners the next day taken, confesse there were 2000. men that day slaine of the assaylants. This **Toll-house*, was a notable peice of Fortification, built on the other side the *Elve*. To this *Tilly* now turnes all his battery; here falls he to mining: and all to no purpose. On the 15th, both by land and water he layes at it: but 300. Muskettiers being by him sent in boates, to assayle it on the waters side, were by those of the Fort driven ashore, and eyther all drownd or slaine by the Citizens; 200. also at the same time, lost their liues on the land-side. Now was there newes brought into *Tillyes* Camp of the King of *Swedens* being vpon his march, for the relieving of the besieged: a Councell of war being therupon being call'd, some troupes are sent towards *Wittenberg*, and the *Deßau* bridge; there to staue off the Kings forces. The newes of his comming now slackning, *Aprill* 21. to worke he falls againe: and giving on vpon the *Toll-house*, he finds that notable peice forsaken by the *Magdenburgers*; who at
their

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their retreat offering to fire it, the place was rescued by the *Imperialists*. Vpon this, were all the Forts on that side of the *Elve*, eyther taken or given over; the bridge also by *Tilly* burned: and approaches made vnto the Citie, which was from thence immediately battered. Now were the besieged forced to burne their owne *new Towne*: where 2000. *Imperialists* immediately lodging themselves, fell to myning, and shooting of Granadoes into the Towne. The 29. by a fally out vpon these in the *new Towne*, are some 100. slaine. The mynes doe no hurt, vntill one *Farenbacke*, a notable Engineer takes them in hand, who sappes himselfe vnder the Towne-ditches to the very hard walls: in reward of which service, the Emperour makes him a Colonell; granting him Commis- sion to rayse two new Regiments. May 2. the *Imperialists* in the new Citie having suddenly in the night-time cast vp a battery, shrewdly punish the besieged. May 7. Generall *Tilly* comes himselfe into the new Towne, together with *Pappenheym* then Generall of the Ordnance, and *Schomberg* Sergeant Major generall; & a great show of Ladders is made, as if there were a purpose of a generall scaladoe. *Tillyes* hope was, that the Towne would presently parly, vpon sight of these preparations: but they taking the Alarme at it, instantly man all their bullwarkes. The 8th day is spent in shooting at a certaine high Tower, from which the Towne-Canon much plagued the besiegers. This day *Tilly* sends a Trumpet to summon the Towne: they send another to him; signify- ing their willingnesse to yeeld, might but their Administrator still enjoy his Bishopricke, and the Towne their priviledges. This not consented vnto, the 9th day *Pappenheym* attempting to scale the walls, is by a fally beaten off: in which some of the enemies mynes being discovered, are by countermynes in the Towne defeated. That day is another Trumpet sent into the Towne: towards Evening, was there much bustling ob- served, and carriages too and againe in the enemies Leaguer: yea they were perceiued to rise with their whole Army, (as the Towne thought) and to march to *Otterleben*, halfe a mile from them. All that night was the Lord *Falkenburg*

vpon

Magdenburg
taken.

vpon the walls: and perceiving in the morning no danger of assault, he calls the Citie together to giue answer to the enemies Trumpet; yea so secure they were, that the overwatcht Souldiers are suffered to goe from their Courts of guard, to take some sleepe: and some say, that the Townesmen were gone to Church to giue God thanks for their deliverance from the siege. Thus the walles being found emptie, about 7. on the tuesday morning, *May 10.* Pappenheym having given the word *Iesu-Maria* to his Souldiers, and a white string about their Armes; makes towards the *Heidecker* port: where having thrown turffs and faggots into the Ditch to fill it, thorow it vp to the middle the *Imperialists* runne, with scaling ladders vpon their backes. The walls are in a trice mounted, the Towne entered, and the Souldiers fall to killing. *Falkenberg* now flying in vpon them, beates them backe to the very walls againe: but a Port being by this time opened, and the enemies horse let in, the valiant *Falkenberg* is slaine with a shot, the Administrator hurt, both in the thigh and head, and so taken. Whilest all thus goes to wrack, a mightie fire breakes out (how, none knowes) and it being a great windie day, all was on the sudden become one great flame: the whole Towne was in twelue houres space, wholly turnd to Cinders, excepting 139. houses. Sixe goodly Churches are burnt; the *Cathedrall* together with *S. Maries* Church, were by the Monkes and Souldiers diligence, preserved. Twentie thousand people at least, were here killed, burned, and smothered: six thousand being observed to be drowned in the *Elve*. *Tillyes Wallons* would giue Quarter to few: and the *Crabats*, never vse to giue, or beg any: so that all were kill'd. *May 12.* came *Tilly* into the Towne; and finding some hundreds of women and Children in the Church, he giues them their liues, and some bread to maintaine it too. Next day he forbids pillaging. Vpon Sunday *May 15.* because he would haue this fayre *Cathedrall* as like to *Rome* as might be, that is, *Consecrated in blood*; he causes it to be cleansed and new consecrated; *Masse* and **Te Deum* being sung in it, in thanksgiving for the Victory. Future ages may perhaps

* With a vengeance, can the Papists now say, that this Masse was *Incruentum Sacrificium*, an vnbloudy sacrifice?

haps compare the destruction of this goodly Citie, vnto that of *Troy*, or of *Ierusalem*. The King of *Sweden*, (who for want of horses to draw his Carriages and Ordnance, could not come time enough to the reliefe) hearing of it, vowed (as some say) to be revenged; rising and retyring a little with his Army. There is a prodigie reported in *Gallobelgicus*, portending some dire abodement vnto the Citie. Thus. A Citie-Captaines wife dying in Child-bed, desire to be ript: the childe was found a boy, almost as big as one of three yeares old. He had, an head-peice, and an iron breast-plate vpon him: great bootes of the *French* fashion: and a bag by his side, with two like Musket-bullets in it. This take vpon his credit, or vpon theirs that told it him.

In capite cassidem, thoracem ferreum, ocreas amplas, quas alla modo vocant.

The same day that *Magdenburg* was taken, had Count *Tilly* given order for the burning of the *Dessau* bridge vpon the *Elbe* where the *Multa* runnes into it: which was the only passage, by which the King of *Sweden* might endanger to disturb his siege: of this act he much repented him after the taking of the Citie, seeing that by destroying of that Bridge, he had cut of himself from having any more to do on the futter side of the River. Being not able therfore to returne that way, and hearing of some levies of Sou'diers now making by the *Leaguers* of *Leipsich*, in *Saxonie*, *Hessen*, and *Durenge*; those he resolues by his presence to hinder. In the end of *May* therefore from *Magdenburg* he remoues; leaving 3 Regiments in the Towne, to defend what the fire had left. Forfaking the bancks of the *Elbe*, and bending a little westerly, at first through the *Hercynian* Forrest he goes; with some 20000 men after him: in passing through which, many of his stragling Souldiers were knockt downe, by the Boores of the Country: his Ordnance are sent to *Gruningen*, & so forward to *Allesleben*. Thither being come, he there pitches; for hither had the Dukes of the house of *Saxonie* (whose Lands lay there about) now sent their Ambassadors.

The Count of Tilly marches towards *Duringen*.

Pitches at *Allesleben*.

Pappenheym is now dispatcht towards *Havelburg*, (as you haue before heard:) and part of *Tillyes* Cavallerie is sent into *Saxon-Weymars*, *Altenburgs*, *Coburgs*, & *Swartzenburgs*.

Coun-

Countries. Thence goes he to *Eisleben*: out of which Towne hee drawes a present contribution of 8000 loaues of bread, and 40 tunne of beere: the Citie of *Ertfurt* (who there had their Ambassadors) is forced to yeeld to contributions. Thus goes his Army on-wards by slow marches, like a *Droue* or *Hoard* of *Tartars*, as if they meant to graze and eate vp the Countrey as they went.

His cheife designe is vpon the great Citie of *Ertfurt* in *Duringen*, and its neighbour *Hessen*, that lie to the South-west of *Saxonie*, now bearing due West of him. Passing therefore into the Countie of *Mansfelt*, he over-spreads the Countries with his Armies: for *Iune* the 9th I find some of them at *Sangerhausen*, others then at *Alstedt*, and some at *Arnsteyn*; all three Townes neere vnto *Eysleben*, and *Mansfelt*, some leagues to the west of *Hall*. *Iune* the 13th is the greatest part of his Armie, so far advanc'd into the Countrey as within three miles of *Weymar*: but these bee his Horses, which had layne vpon them ever since *Whitsuntide*. *Iune* the 15th 112. Cornets of Horse passe the River *Unstrut*: his Foote at the same time being about *Sachsenburgh* and *Heildreygen*; and himselfe then lodged at a Cloister by *Oldsleben*, within 4 leagues of *Ertford*.

From hence goes he with part of his Armie to *Mulhausen*, a Citie vpon the River *Unstrut* in the Countie of *Duringen*, and neerer to the Land of *Hessen*; whereabouts for a while he stayes. Now hath he two designes in hand: 1. one for the taking of the great Citie *Ertfurt* in *Duringen*: for which he had these three reasons. 1. besides the wealth of the Towne, it would bring about all the Gentry of the Country. 2. If once conquered by the sword, then were it the Emperors for ever: so that *Saxonie* must loose his Title of Protector of it, and that would breed a quarrell with him, which they desired. 3. That would breake *Saxonies* and *Hessens* levies, and saue their spoyling of the Spiritualtie in those parts, and in *Franconia*. Round about this Citietherefore hee still lies, sometimes at *Mulhausen*, and sometimes at *Oldsleben*, till towards the end of the moneth. His second designe was vpon

on *Hessen*: to whom at this time hee sends those 4 (which some make 5) Articles, of which * we before told you: concerning which he receiving no contentment, resolves to fall into the Countrey.

* See Page. 32

June 28. I find *Tilly* come to *Mulhausen*, from whence he sends his Vant-curriers before him into *Hessen*: Colonel *Cratz* goes to one place; *Colredo* vnto *Saltzungen* and *Creutzberg*: others towards *Eischweg* and *Vach*: himselfe speedily resolving to follow with the whole Armie.

Tilly Marches towards the King.

But now is the hooke put into his nose, and hee is turned backe (just) by the way that he came. For now hearing of the King of *Swedens* Conquests about the *Elbe*; of *Pappenbeyms* defeate; and of *Mansfelts* poast hast from *Magdenburgh*: he is faine to call off his Vant-curriers againe, and about the 10 of *July* to turne with all speed towards the King of *Sweden* at *Werben*: forsaking the halfe-deffroyed Countries of the Princes of the house of *Saxonie*. How hee there sped wee haue before * told you. After which hee againe betooke himselfe into *Garleben*, *Wolmerstadt*, and so at last into *Hall*.

And hither now haue wee brought him backe againe, the same way he went: for he beates over this ground as often, as if he were the ordinary Post of the place. Perceiving his forces by the 3 late defeates beginning to weaken, hee sends for the Count of *Furstenberg* with his *Italian* and *Bavarian* Troupes: who was now (as wee * told you) with 18000 men busied in the Dutchie of *Wirtemberg*: which Countrey together with the Circles of *Swaben* and *Franconia*, he having constrained to renounce the conclusions of *Leipsich*, was at this instant ready to fall vpon the Landtgraue of *Hessen* also. Now was the Generall *Tilly* thoroughly chafed; and seing he was not strong enough of himselfe to beate the King, he resolv'd to be made strong enough by *Furstenberg* to beat some body.

Tilly counter-marches, and returnes into *Saxony*.

* See Page 33

Furstenberg was to come to him by the way of *Erdfurt*, & to meete him about *Mansfeldt*: whereabouts he after joyned with him *Aug. 16*, not that the two Armies vnited them-

selues

selues into one body ; for victuals were now so deare that Tilly would not suffer that, but, for that *Furstenburg* was now at Tillyes devotion. Having thus made vp a compleat Armie of some 45000 men, of his owne *Wallons*, and old *Germane* Troupes, *Furstenburg's*, *Italians*, and *Bavarians*, with other old Souldiers: they now cald themselves *The invincible Army*; Now was the Generall Tillyes intention with those mightie Forces, first of all to haue constrained the Duke of *Saxonie* to haue renounced the conclusions of *Leipsich*, and to haue made him resigne over his own Army vnto him, with which being made vp about 60000 strong; he was purposed at the Citie and Bridge of *Wittenberg* to haue passed the *Elbe*, and there to haue set vpon the King of *Sweden*, or haue fallen into *Brandenburg*, *Mecklenburg*, and *Pomerland* againe.

Furstenburg being thus joyned, the Duke of *Saxonie* (now about *Torgau* with his Armie at which Towne there is a Bridge over the *Elbe*) is sent vnto by Tilly, and invited into *Mersburg*; where a meeting was given him by the Lords *Mitternacht* and *Schomburg*, Ambassadors from the Emperor: together with *Bernard*, cheife Secretary vnto the Generall Tilly. The Ambassadors peremptorily in the Emperors name propound vnto the Duke, that his Majesties great pleasure and intention was, to annihilate and to breake the Conclusions of *Leipsich*: to commaund there should no more Souldiers be levied by the Protestants: but that all their Troupes should be cast and licenced: and his *Imperiall* Mandate in all things obeyed, vpon their perills. There must be no nay, excuse, nor delay in the Duke: and his finall resolution must be had within a few dayes. The Duke desires to consult with his Counsell vpon it, and so takes his leaue of them. His returne not being speedie enough, a Trumpet is sent vnto him for his answer vnto these 4 Propositions, which we * before told you of: and then vpon the Dukes deniall before the Emperours Ambassador (whom he then dismisses from his Court) the Generall Tilly not regarding that the Princes of both *Leagues* and *Religions*, were even now met at *Franckford* vpon *Main* for the compounding of differences concerning that which bred

See Page 36.
&c. where (by the way) there is a smal error of time; the Dukes answer being there said to be in the beginning of September, whereas it was about the 24. of August.

bred the quarrell; the *Reformation*, and the *Church-Lands*:

About *Aug. 26.* takes hee the Episcopall Town of *Mersburg* Tilly takes
aforesaid, 3 leagues from *Leipsich*, belonging vnto the said *Mersburg*.

Duke: fairely turning out the Garrison with bag and baggage; and an oath never to serue against the Emperor, and the *Catholicke* League againe. Betwixt this Towne and *Hall* some 2 or 3 leagues to the North of it, he now pitches his Army: thence sends he some to pillage the two other Bishop-

prickes of the Dukes *Naumburg*; vpon the same River of *Mersburg*, *Sala* with *Mersburg*, and *Zeitz* vpon *Elster*, the River of *Naumburg* & *Leipsich*, with other of his Townes and Mannors. *Aug. 28.* *Zeitz* which

Schomberg, Generall of the Artillery, with the Commissary *Walmerode* come to the Citie of *Hall*; & within a day or two of that time, *Furstenberg* comes thither from *Eisleben*: advancing forwards to get the passage, (if it might be,) betwixt *Wittenberg* and *Saxony*: but that the Dukes going* to *Torgau* and *Dieben*, prevented. *Aug. 29.* Count *Tilly* sends to the Citie of *Leipsich* to demaund provisions for his Army.

This denyed, vnlesse he brought their *Electors* consent; he the next day plunders all the Country for 3. leagues about, and comming by the way of *Ranstadt*, he on that side places his Guards before the very Ports, takes possession of the Suburbs, peremptorily demaunding their speedy and finall resolution. Their answer is, that their Duke having lately sent in six Companies of Foote, and the Lieutenant-Colonel *Pforten* to commaund in the Towne; seemd rather desirous to defend his owne, then to yeeld vnto any such violent motion. Hereupon, *Septe. 3.* *Tilly* with full 40000. men sets downe before the Towne; out-come the Deputies to demaund his reasons: They are threatned with fire and sword if they yeeld not. The Citizens resolute to stand to it; and the enemy makes his approaches. Some greater peices he mounts on that side towards *Pfaffendorff*, vpon the hill nere the *Euteritzsch* Sconces: so to cut off all provisions from coming in. On Sunday *Sept. 4.* the Towne sets fire on their owne faire Suburbs, to prevent the enemies lodging in them: killing that day with a peice of Ordnance, one that stood hard

*Pag. 37.

Leipsich besieged.

besides

Parlyes.

Yeeldes.

besides the Generall Tilly. He thus enraged, batters them with peices of full Canon, and shootes wild-fire and Grana- does in amongst them. Next day he sends in something, more terrible then all the former : most thundering vowes and threats, from himselfe and *Pappenheym*, to serve them like *Magdenburg*, if they presently yeelded not. This quayld their courages, and brought them vnto a parlie. The conditions are ; Free exercise of Religion ; not to be drawne from their obedience to the Duke ; nor to be overcharged with too great a Garrison. The Governour *Pforten* with his men of warre, haue Souldiers conditions, and so the same munday the Townesmen signing the Articles, the next morning they forsake the Towne. One company with the *Defensue Banner* of *Saxony* goes into the Fort of *Pleisenburg*, (which Fort the next day also yeelded it selfe) and the other five, into *Eitenbergh*. One thing fell out ominously for Generall Tilly ; that at his entring the Towne, he stayd to talke with the Deputies in the Town *Grane-makers* house neer the *Grimischen* port. This done, he out of the sayd *Grane-makers* house now mounting vp on horsebacke, returnes into his Leaguer, because he now heard the King of *Sweden* to haue passed the *Elve*, and the Duke of *Saxony* to be joyned with him.

In the time of this siege, was the whole neighbour Country ravaged and plundered : the Souldiers, with licentiousnesse enough, there exercising their wonted crueltie & beastlineffe. Now were *Pegam*, *Lutzen*, *Luca*, *Weisenfels* and other places spoyled. Here were the Ladies, Gentlewomen, and others, like beasts and dogs yoked and coupled together, to be led into the Woods and ravished : who for resisting, had their cloaths stript off, their bodies whipt, their eares cut off, and so sent home againe. Hereabouts gat they together betwixt three and foure thousand head of Cattel : and what beast soever could not, or did not readily follow them, they either houghed, or killed ; least (as they said) it should serue some Hereticke.

(* *)

THE

THE BATTLE OF LEIPSIH.



Generall *Tilly*, having now intelligence of the King of *Sweden* passing of the *Elve*, and of *Saxonyes* joyning with him: sends (as it is reported) a Letter by a Trumpet vnto the King, To invite him, as he was a brave Cavalier, to giue him Battell. This low terme of Cavalier, the Kings heroicall spirit taking dis-

Tilly invites the King to a pitch field.

dainfully, stamps vpon the Letter; replying thus vnto the Trumpet; *What doth your Generall thinke mee worthy of no better a stile then of Cavalier? I am a King: and tell him, I shall well finde him out.* *Tilly* vpon receipt of this message, prepares his Army, as if to accept of a Victory, rather then to fight much for it: so confident they were of themselves, and so glad of the oportunitie. Proclamation is made, that vpon the hearing of certaine warning peices, every man should repayre to his Colours and to his order. Vpon the fatall seaventh of *September* therefore being Wednesday, he with 44000. braue men, in goodly order of battell first takes the field; which was vpon a fayre plaine or heath (about a mile from *Leipsich*) called *Gods Aker*: sayd to be the very same place, wher the Emperor *Charles* the 5 heretofore overthrew the Duke of *Saxony*. *Tilly* like a prudent Generall, being careful for all advantages, had placed himselfe vpon a little hill thereabouts, (where the place of execution is,) having a wood also to hide his men, and for their retreat. The watchword for his Armie was * *Sancta Maria*: the token to know one another by, was white strings or ribbands about their

* The high Dutch relation sayes, *Mary* the mother of God,

armes, and in their helmets, as if they had beene *Diademes*, and that that day would haue made them all Kings.

The King
moves to-
wardes the
field.

His strength.

A good Omen.

The King of *Sweden* having prepared his Army by prayers vnto God, and encouragements to his men the day before, vpon the same Wednesday morning before day, he advances from *Dieben* towards the place of battell. His owne Troupes were some 18000: and the Duke of *Saxonie*, together with the Marquis of *Brandenburg* some 20000 or 22000. Two Regiments of *Saxonies*, I find not to haue beene this day in the field: the Foote-Regiment (namely) of the Count of *Solmes*, and *Hofkerks* Horse-Regiment. The watch-word was *Godt mit Vns*, God with vs: their token, *greene branches* in their hats or helmets; with which ere night their browes were crowned, as if with *victorious Lawrell*. The King being come as farre as *Seehausen* and *Podelwitz*, & now in sight of the Enemy; behold an Omen, which a *Romane Augur* would haue esteemed for a most fortunate abodement. Vpon the place of battell which the Enemy had left for the King, there sate a flocke of birds; which being sprung by the Kings comming, took their flight directly over *Tillyes* Armie; and fetching there a circle about, (and that also the *Romans* would haue accounted an happy presage) they turn'd againe towards the Kings Army: as who should say, *Wee went to fetch you victory*. But the King had a better *Angury* on his side then a flight of birds, *God with vs*; and that which the *Romane* Generall sometimes preferr'd before the birds: *Romano milite dignus, Ensis adest augur*; his valour, namely, and his sword.

The Armies
meete.

Their order.

Being now ready to come vnto the Shocke; the Battels were thus ordered, *Tilly* made choice of the ancient order, to fight in great square bodies, himselfe leading now the right wing, the Duke of *Holsteyn* the left, and the Count of *Furstenburg* the Battaille. The King dividing his men into many smaller bodies; takes the right wing to himselfe, committing the left vnto the Duke of *Saxonie* and his men: the wings of either battaille, tooke vp two *English* miles in length. The wind was now at the West; which *Tilly* had gotten of *Saxonie*: and was so desirous afterwards to compasse from the King, that in wheeling about, he came within the command

of

The Battell of Leipfich:

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of the Kings Ordnance, who also to saue the wind turned a little to the right hand. The fight was about 12 a clocke, first began with their Canon, for that purpose placed before every division. Their roare made the very earth to tremble, and men to groane their last; for two houres together: about which time, the Generall *Tilly* drawing out of the wood, passes by the Kings wing, (which had also gotten one end of the same wood) and set a maine vpon the Duke of *Saxonie*. Two charges the *Saxons* endured well enough: but the Enemy having direction to laye hardest vpon the Dukes owne Guards (amongst whom himselfe fought;) they not able longer to endure it, begin to giue ground a little. Therest of the *Saxons* now perceiving their Duke, and bravest men thus to retyre, thinke all lost; and all in confusion away they flie, leaving 3 Canons to the mercy of the Enemy; and pillaging their owne wagons by the way: that so they might at least seeme to be Conquerors; in carrying home spoiles of the warres, though not of their Enemies. Yet all fled not; for the Lord *Arnhem* (Field-Marshal to the Duke, and an old Souldier) together with Colonell *Bindauff*, * *Done*, and *Vitzthimb*, with their 4 Regiments, brauely yet stood vnto it. *Steinau*, a Colonell of Horse, was with 4 Cornets taken prisoner by the Enemy; who at length perceiving the Kings partie to prevaile, brake through the Enemy, and assisted his owne side. The *Imperialists* now seeing the *Saxons* flying, cry *Victoria, Victoria, follow, follow, follow*: but the old Lad their Generall quickly countermaunded that; saying, *Let them goe, wee shall overtake them time enough: but let vs beate the Swedes too, and then all Germany is our owne*. In this medlie, *Furstenberg* with his old Regiment of *Italian* Horse, having charged quite thorow the *Saxons*, was now comming vpon the *Swedes* backe: which they perceiving, with such resolution second his charge, and follow their owne, that they chase him almost an *English* mile from the place, so vtterly cutting off & dispersing the whole Regiment, that they could not recover it all that battell: and here perchance himselfe was slaine.

The fight begins with great Ordnance.

The Duke of Saxonie flees.

* Some write him *Tamb.*

The Count of *Furstenberg* defeated.

Slaine.

In this time, the Duke of *Holsteyn* with his left wing having

The Duke of
Holſteyn defeated.
And ſlaine.

The Scots of
the Lord
Reyes Regi-
ments, as tis
ſaid, firſt
breake Tillyes
rankes.

Tilly vtterly
defeated and
taken priſoner

Wounded.

* Brother to
him that Pap-
penbeym had
before taken
priſoner a-
bout Magden-
burgh.

Tilly reſcued.

ving charged the King; was with ſuch reſolution and valour answered, that after 5 or 6 charges bewixt them, the Duke was mortally wounded, and taken priſoner; his whole Armie defeated, and 3 peices of Ordnance taken.

By thistime the King having notice of the Duke of Saxo-
nies leaving the field, and that Tilly was ready to charge his
battaile: preſently drawes out 2000 commanded Muskett-
tiers of the braue *Scottiſh* Nation led by Colonell *Havord*,
they having ſome 2000 horſe vpon their flankes; to ſtaue off
the enemye a while. The *Scots* ordering themſelues in ſeve-
rall ſmall *battagliaes*, about 6 or 700 in a body, preſently now
double their rankes, making their file then but 3 deepe (the
diſcipline of the King of *Sweden* being, never to march aboue
6 deepe) this done, the formoſt rancke falling on their knees;
the ſecond ſtooping forward; and the third rancke ſtanding
right vp; and all giving fire together, they powred ſo much
lead at one inſtant in amongſt the enemies horſe, that their
ranckes were much broken with it. This advantage the *Swe-
diſh* Horſe (lined with Muskettiers) apprehending; reſo-
lutely falling amongſt them vpon their Croopes, vtterly now
diſperſe them. The foote perceiving their horſe (vpon whoſe
braverie they ſo much depended) to be thus put to rowte,
ſtand ſore amazed at that which they ſo little expected. And
now the King with his Foote falling in vpon their Van, and
with his Horſe vpon their flankes; after 4 houres hard fight,
vtterly defeated them. In this hot ſervice was the Generall
Tilly himſelfe much diſtreſſed, and ſome ſay priſoner a while
(though vnknowne) vnto the Kings Armie: certaine it is,
that he was twice or thrice wounded with piſtoll-shot,
which the *Saxon* writers ſay, was done by their men: moſt af-
firme, that he was fetcht off by the valour of * *Rodolp Maxi-
milian* Duke of *Saxon-Lawenburg*, that day ſerving on the
Emperors ſide, who fought like a lyon: with whom and two
other horſemen, Tilly came, and conjoyned himſelfe vnto
the valiant Baron of *Cronenberg*. This bold Baron and his Re-
giment ſerving in the right wing, had 4 times in thoſe 4
houres, charged the Kings Forces: and hee at laſt, when no
more could be done, brauely carried away his Generall, in the
miſt of his owne (now flying) Troupes. Thus,

Thus, notwithstanding that the left wings of both Armies had beene rowted and defeated, yet the right wings vnder their old and experienced Cheiftaines, stood stiffely & brauely to it, from 2 in the afternoone, till 6 at night: by which time, the *Imperialists* were quite defeated, and beaten out of the field, being miserably flaine and trodden downe in the chace. Had the King had but 3 houres more of day light, scarcely had 1000 Enemies come off aliue: but the darkenes which was safest for them to flie, being not so for him to pursue; the joyfull retreate is founded, and the chace given over for that night. There were full 15000 of the Enemies flaine vpon the place of battell, or in the chace; the same night and the dayes following, as one of our *High-Dutch* Relations assures us: 14 peices of halfe * *Curtoes*, or *Demi-cansons*: and 16 lesser peices of 8 or 10 pound ball, taken. Some of them having the Armes of the Emperour, Duke of *Bavaria*, and *Wallensteyn*: others those of the *Pals-graue*, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, Duke of *Brunswick*, &c.

The Chase.

The Dutch word is, *Kartmen* whence ours. The bootie and losses.

The Enemies whole Leaguer neere vnto *Leipfich*, was taken full standing; and in it 3000 Wagons, and all their baggage, Tents, and Pavilions: together with a great number of Cattell, oxen, sheepe, Asses, poultry, bread & wine, much costly stuffe, with some gold and silver. Before the Leaguer, was there a great square sconce, w^{ch} the Defendants had forsaken.

And this was as compleate a victorie as possibly could bee gotten. Not stolen by night, which *Alexander* scorned: but atcheived by fine force in the broad day-light, betwixt 12 and 6 in the afternoone. No advantage of place to assist the King; twas vpon a faire levell, and *Campagnia*. No casuall advantage, but was against him; the wind, the wood and higher ground; all possessed by the Enemy. No advantage in numbers, or reputation of men: *Tillyes* were the more; the older Souldiers, and their Armie was called *Invincible*. Nay, one disadvantage had the King, as great as possibly could be; a maine fleshing to the Enemy, a weakning of halfe his own Armie, and a discouragement to the rest; by the early defeat of the Duke of *Saxony*. So that all the advantages lay on the Enemies side, and the disadvantages vpon the Kings. His

**Cheife men
flaine on the
Kings fide.**

* He is called
Bindtorp, page
36.

**On the
Dukes.**

**Of Tillyes
fide flaine.**

Prisoners.

Majesty lost not about 1200 men in the whole fight, & the Duke of *Saxonie* not full 2000. Of cheife Comaunders on the Kings fide, these flaine. Baron *Teuffell*, *Collenbach*, *Cornville*, *Hall*, *Adergast*, all Colonells: with divers Captaines and Lieutenants. On the Duke of *Saxonies* fide these. Coll* *Bindtauff*, *Starchedell*, Serjeant Major *Helbeirdorff*, and *Lemming*, both Lieutenants, Colonells: *Hans George* of *Hunrott*, Generall Adjutant: *Gerstorff*, *Musculus*, Count *Mansfield*, *Lubers*, *Lemming*, *Carlowitz*, *Willenstein*, *Rockonitz*, *Henneger*, Lord *Otto* of *Villaz*, all Captaines of Foote or Horse, with Serjeant Major *Drandorff*: whereof some died the same day, and some the next.

Of *Tillyes* fide flaine these following. Duke *Adolp* of *Holsteyn*; the Generall the Count of *Furstenberg*; *Schomberg*, Generall of the Ordnance: *Erfft*, Serjeant Major Generall: *Baumgarten*, *Colorado*, *Gallas*, *Wallensteyn*, *Lebel*, and *Zabilli*, all Colonels; *Caratelle*, Lieutenant Colonell: together with the Lieutenant Colonels of the Regiments of *Saricour*, *Hartzfeldt*, and of the Duke of *Saxon Lawenberg*: with divers others whose dead and naked bodies were not knowne: besides Captaines and Lieutenants both of horse and foote, and many braue Cavaliers moe; which died either vpon the place, or in the Townes of *Delitz*, *Eylenberg*, and *Leipfich*, whither they had fled. Taken prisoners, the Generall Adjutant *Zinzendorff*, the Imperiall Commissaries Generall, *Walmerode*, and *Graff*: with *Coronino*, *Blankhard*, *Barcelli*, *Kratz*, *Hazelung*, *Larme*, *Klinzi*, and *Wincleman*, all Colonels: together with *Bernhard*, that was *Tillyes* Treasurer and Secretarie; divers Captaines and some *Iesuites*: who, no doubt, came thither to blesse the Armie. Divers Protestants were also taken, who betooke themselves vnto his Majesties service. *Tillyes* manly heart (tis said) could not refraine his teares, when he perceived his braue old Souldiers thus going to wracke. The whole fault he laid vpon his own Horsmen, who after a few hard charges, cowardly ran away, and never made head againe.

**Tilly and Pope
seem to flee.**

Tilly himselfe thus wounded as he was, made shift to flie into *Hall* that night, 7 Dutch miles from the place of battell:
from

from whence in a *hackney Coach*, both hee and *Pappenheym*, fled the next day towards *Halberstadt*. Some 200 Muskettiers followed their Generall, & about 2000 Horse rallying themselves together, in all haste went also after him. Reported it was that *Tilly* should haue his wounds dressed by the Town-Barbar of *Hall*, who (it seemes) affirmed to the King, that *Tillyes* body was *hard-shot*, or *shot-free* : and that the bullets had not peirced the flesh, but made bruises rather in his arme, necke, and shoulder : and that to his horrible torment, he was faine to endure to haue the bruised flesh cut out to the very hard bone. Whether this were so or no, wee leaue vpon the Barbars credit : and because we haue not heard it seconded out of *Germanie*, we are loath to charge so braue a Warriour, with so base an imputation, as to owe his life vnto a *Charm*, which is practised by none, but the reprobate raskalitie of the Armie. No man (since the King of *Portugall*) hath been so often kill'd and reuiu'd by report, as *Tilly* hath beene : yea that side would haue him to bee yet aliue. Hee was said to speake of nothing but peace, and of making a good Peace, which is indeed farre more happy then victorie.

* Most surely, such a practise there is, of which no souldier in *Germanie* makes doubt: The Charm which they weare makes their bodies *Gefroren*, that is, frozen, and hard: If they shew it by day time, it looses its force. No bullet nor iron weapon can pierce them. 100. shots at least, haue bin made vpon one fellow, that braved the *English* at *Stoade*: his cloathes were shot to peices, and the wast-band of his breeches: which he taking vp, went his way. This hath beene an old practise of *Mithraes* souldiers, 2000. yeares agoe: who made themselves invulnerable both against weapons, frost and fire.

The Chase and slaughter being done, (which continued all the next day) the day after *Sept. 9.* went the King on to *Mersburg*, whence he ferretted out the *Imperialists* that had fled thither from the battell; 3000 whereof hee entertained into his own service: by which, & others of *Tillyes*, takē on before and after, he was made 7000 stronger then he was in the day of battell. *Sept. 10.* he besieged *Hall*, which the next day was yeelded vnto him. The Castle of *Morisberg* hee tooke in *Sept. 12.* where he made Sergeant Major *Groschen*, and Captaine *Winkleman* prisoners: whom he delivered to the Duke of *Saxonie*; redeeming Colonell *Vrseler*, with some others, that had beene taken prisoners at *Magdenburg*: taking the *Protestants* which lay in Garrison in it, into his owne service. From *Hall* his Majestie commaunded diuers Regiments of Horse and Foote to goe towards *Halberstadt*, *Mansfeldt*, *Regenstein*, *Stolberg*, *Hohenstein*, *Magdenburg*, and *Brunswicke*, to scoure those Coasts of the *Imperialists*: who hearing of the *Swedens* comming, packt with all speed away towards the River *Wefer*; after their Generall *Tilly*. And herabouts (the

Priests

*Leipsich taken
again.*

Priests & Monkes lately put in by the Emperors commissiō, now flying away) were the late-exiled Ministers, by the King restored vnto their Churches. Whilest the King was busie hereabouts; the Elector of *Saxonie* employes himselfe about the reducing of his owne Towne of *Leipsich*, and the Fort *Pleisenbergh* vnto his obedience. This Fort, had *Iohn Vopelius* (a *Saxon*) the Captaine of it, cowardly delivered vp vnto *Tilly*, before ever any force was offered to it; and that vpon the day of battell, so soone as he heard the fight begin. *Leipsich* being besieged by the Duke, vpon *Sept. 12.* in the evening come there 350 *Imperialists* out of the Fort aforesaid into the Citie: *Sept. 13.* before noone, Colonell *Wangler* left Governour in the Towne by *Tilly*, parlies, and yeelds: wherevpon 3000 souldiers (almost) are suffered to depart. The conditions were to haue 18 wagons of bag and baggage; 10 red Ensignes furled, (not displayed or flying) swords by their sides onely, and without sound of drumme. Some of these forthwith betooke themselves vnto the Dukes service: and whereas after the fight some had gotten themselves into the Town, more then were by agreement to come in when the Towne was first yeelded vnto *Tilly*; these the Duke layes hold of, and retaines as prisoners. Among these, was *Coronino*, and Count *Walmerod* the Commissary, & *Zintzendorff*, (all aforesaid mentioned) with some *Iesuites*. The rest were to be conducted into *Bohemia*: where the Boores were ready, with club-law to entertaine them.

*Altringer and
Fugger retire.*

Whilest this is done, the other 2 *Imperial* Generals *Altringer* and *Fugger*, who were with 6000 men come as farre as *Erdfurt* to haue joyned with *Tilly*; hearing of his defeat, runne about the *Duringer* Forrest like mice whose holes were stopt: retiring now with all speed: and seeking by some other way to conioyne themselves with him. And now no enimie being neere; the King of *Sweden* sends for the Duke of *Saxonie*, & other the great Commanders of his Army, to come to *Hall* vnto him. A Councell of warre is there held, which way to keepe the enimie from gathering head againe; and how to pursue the victorie: the second part of a Conqueror being, to know as well how to vse his victorie, as how to winne it. And at this consultation we leaue them, much about *Michaelmas*.

*The King
calls a Coun-
cell of warre.*

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Watts, William,

The Swedish intelligencer Wherein, out of the truest and choicest
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